

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME C.

January 1893.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

CALCUTTA:

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 199.—JANUARY 1895.

ART. I.—THE DAWN OF INDIAN RESEARCH.

"Looke backe, who list, unto the former ages,
And call to count', what is of them become :
Where be those learned wits and antique sages
Which of all wisdom knew the perfect somme ?
Where those great warriors which did overcome
The world with conquest of their might and maine,
And made one meare of th' earth and of their raine ?

'What now is of th' Assyrian Lyonesse,
Of whom no footing now on earth appears ?
What of the Persian beares outrageousnesse,
Whose memorie is quite worne out with yeares ?
Who of the Grecian Libbard now' aught heares,
That over ran the East with greedie powre,
And left his whelps their kingdoms to devoure ?"

SPENSER, *The Ruines of Time.*

WE have had a decade of anniversaries, of centenaries, of jubilees. The great happenings of the Middle Ages—the life of Martin Luther, the discovery of America, and, in Russia, the heroism of Sergé the Regenerator, the deathless—have been brought home to us to tell us how the times that are gone are bound up with the times that are; how the present is the child and heir of the immemorial past. Yet one centenary slipped by, scarce noted, or noted not at all; the event that should have been commemorated bids fair to bear immortal fruit, to open up a new world for our tired thoughts and tired hearts to travel to, as the mariner of Genoa opened up a new world and a new life where the age-worn peoples might make their home.

This scarce recorded event, which was yet so pregnant with fate, was the dawn of Indian research, through the foundation of the "*Asiatick Society*" of Bengal. I do not know whether the story of that foundation has ever been told; whether the old records have ever been reverently examined by some grateful follower of those first leaders of Indian study; but it cannot be out of place to tell the story once again, if it has been told; or to gather together the scattered leaves of the ancient records, if the story is still untold.

VOL. C.]

It would seem that the thought of founding a society for "Asiatick Researches" first formed itself in the mind of SIR WILLIAM JONES, a man fitted to guide the taste of the elegant, and correct the learning of the studious. Let us tell the story in the words of his biographer.*

"SIR WILLIAM JONES embarked for India in the *Crocodile* frigate; and in April 1783, left his native country, to which he was never to return, with the unavailing regret and affectionate wishes of his numerous friends and admirers.

"As to himself, the melancholy impressions which he could not but feel on such an occasion, were alleviated by various considerations. The expectations of five years were now accomplished in the attainment of his wishes: he anticipated the utility of his official labours to the public, and the occupation, so peculiarly delightful to him, of investigating the unexplored mines of literature. SIR WILLIAM JONES was now in his thirty-seventh year, in the full vigour of his faculties, and he looked forward with ardour to the pleasures and advantages arising from his situation in India, without any apprehension that the climate of that country would prove hostile to his constitution. A difference of opinion on great political questions, without diminishing his regard for his friends had narrowed his habits of intercourse with some whom he sincerely esteemed, and he felt, therefore, the less regret in quitting those whose principles he wished to approve, but from whom an adherence to his own frequently compelled him to dissent. He reflected, with pleasure, on the independency of his station, that the line of duty, which it prescribed, was straight and defined, and in leaving his native country, for which he retained the warmest affection, he was not sorry to abandon all political cares and discussions. But his greatest consolation and enjoyment were derived from the society of LADY JONES.

"To those who are destitute of internal resources, whose habits have led them to seek for amusement in the miscellaneous occurrences and topics of the day only, a sea voyage is a period of fatigue, languor, and anxiety. To SIR WILLIAM JONES every new scene was interesting, and his mind, exercised by incessant study and reflection, possessed an inexhaustible fund of subjects, which he could at pleasure select and apply to the purposes of recreation and improvement, but his application during his voyage was more particularly directed to those studies by which he was to enlarge the requisite qualifications for discharging the duties of his public station, with satisfaction to himself, and benefit to the community.

* "The Works of Sir William Jones, with the Life of the Author." By Lord Teignmouth. London, 1807.

"During his voyage, SIR WILLIAM JONES prepared the following memorandum :—

Objects of Enquiry during my Residence in Asia.

1. The Laws of the Hindus and Mohammedans.
2. The History of the Ancient World.
3. Proofs and Illustrations of Scripture.
4. Traditions concerning the Deluge, &c.
5. Modern Politics and Geography of Hindustan.
6. Best mode of governing Beggars.
7. Arithmetic and Geometry, and mixed Sciences of the Asiatics.
8. Medicine, Chemistry, Surgery, and Anatomy of the Indians.
9. Natural Productions of India.
10. Poetry, Rhetoric and Morality of Asia.
11. Music of the Eastern Nations.
12. The Shi kings, or 300 Chinese Odes.
13. The best accounts of Tibet and Cashmir.
14. Trade, Manufactures, Agriculture, and Commerce of India.
15. Mogul Constitution, contained in the Desteri Aleinghiri and Ayeln Acbari.
16. Mahratta Constitution.

To print and publish the *Gospel* of St. Luke in Arabic

To publish Law Tracts in Persian or Arabic.

To print and publish the *Psalms of David* in Persian verse.

To compose, if God grant me life :—

1. Elements of the Laws of England :

Model—The Essay on Buliment—Aristotle.

2. The History of the *American* war :

Model—Thucydides and Polybius.

3. Britain discovered, an Heroic Poem on the Constitution of England :

Machinery—Hindu Gods.

Model—Homer.

4. Speeches, Political and Forensic :

Model—Demosthenes.

5. Dialogues, Philosophical and Historical.

Model—Plato.

6. Letters. *Model*—Demosthenes and Plato. 12th July 1783.

Crocodile Frigate.

One is led to reflect on this somewhat ambitious memorandum, *first*, that the man who laid the foundations of Indian Orientalism was as singularly free from that too narrow specialism which constantly threatens to smother wisdom under knowledge, as he was free from the bitterness of personality of which scholars are too often to be accused ; and, *secondly*, we are led to reflect that, great as was SIR WILLIAM JONES' achievement, it fell far short of his designs ; while those ambitious epics and dialogues which were to imitate Plato and Homer are as little heard of as Spenser's 'Grecian Libbard.' In the course of the voyage—continues the biographer—"he stopped at Madeira, and, in ten additional weeks of prosperous sailing from the rugged islands of Cape Verd, arrived at Hinzuar, or Joanna. Of this island, where he remained a few days only,

he has published an interesting and amusing description. He expatiates, with rapture, on his approach to it; delineates, with the skill of an artist, the beauty of the scenery, and sketches, with the discriminating pen of a philosopher, the characters and manners of the unpolished but hospitable natives. The novelty of the scene was attractive, and its impression upon his mind is strongly marked by the following just and elegant reflection, which in substance is more than once repeated in his writings:—‘If life were not too short for the complete discharge of all our respective duties, public and private, and for the acquisition even of necessary knowledge in any degree of perfection, with how much more pleasure and improvement might a great part of it be spent in admiring the beauties of this wonderful orb, and contemplating the nature of man in all its varieties.’

“But it would be injustice,” says Lord Teignmouth, “to his memory to pass over, without particular notice, the sensible and dignified rebuke with which he repelled the rude attack of Mussalman bigotry on the divinity of our Saviour. During a visit which he made to a native of the island, a *Coran* was produced for his inspection, and his attention was pointedly directed to a passage in a commentary accusing the Christians of blasphemy in calling our Saviour the son of God. ‘The Commentator’ (he replied) ‘was much to blame for passing so hasty and indiscriminate a censure; the title which gave your legislator, and which gives you such offence, was often applied in *Judea* by a bold figure, agreeably to the *Hebrew* idiom, to *angels*, to *holy men*, and even to *all mankind*, who are commanded to call God their father; and in this large sense, the Apostle to the Romans calls the elect the *children* of God, and the Messiah the *first born among many brethren*; but the words *only begotten* are applied transcendantly and incomparably to Him alone; and as for me, who believe the Scriptures—which you also profess to believe, though you assert, without proof, that we have altered them—I cannot refuse Him an appellation, though far surpassing our reason, by which He is distinguished in the Gospel; and the believers in Mohammed, who expressly name him the Messiah, and pronounce him to have been born of a virgin (which alone might fully justify the phrase condemned by this author), are themselves condemnable, for cavilling at words, when they cannot object to the substance of our faith, consistently with their own.

As illustrating the Mussalman belief that ‘we have altered the Scriptures’ one might refer to this passage of Albiruni: * ‘Now the Jews selected seventy-two men out of their twelve tribes, six men of each tribe, from among the Rabbis and Priests.

* ALBIRUNI’S ‘*Chronology of Ancient Nations*.’ By Dr. Edward Sachau, (London 1879), p. 24.

Their names are known among the Christians. These men translated the Thora into Greek, after they had been housed separately, and each couple had got a servant to take care of them. This went on till they had finished the translation of the whole book. Now the king had in his hand thirty-six translations. These he compared with each other, and did not find any differences in them, except those which always occur in the rendering of the same ideas. Then the king gave them what he had promised, and provided them with everything of the best. The Jews asked him to make them a present of one of those copies, of which they wished to make a boast before their own people. And the king complied with their wish.' Now this is the copy of the Christians, and people think that in it no alteration or transposition has taken place. The Jews, however, give quite a different account—that they made the translation under compulsion, and that they yielded to the king's demand only from fear of violence and maltreatment, and not before having agreed upon inverting and confounding the best of the book. There is nothing in the report of the Christians which, even if we should take it for granted, removes our doubts as to the authenticity of their Bible; on the contrary, there is something in it which strengthens them greatly." The biographer continues:—

"This quotation affords a decisive proof of the belief of SIR WILLIAM JONES in the sublime doctrines of the Christian religion. Had he been an infidel, he would have smiled at the scoffs of Mussalman bigotry; and had he been indifferent to his faith, he would have been silent on an occasion where he could expect neither candour nor concessions from his antagonists. Indeed he was well aware that a religious dispute with those zealots would have been fruitless and unseasonable, and might have been dangerous; but, as it was inconsistent with his principles to disavow or conceal what he firmly believed and professed, he could not suffer the attack to pass without reprehension, and he grounded it on premises which his opponents could not dispute, nor did they venture to answer.

"From Hinzuán to the Ganges, nothing material occurred, and he landed at Calcutta in September 1783. His reputation had preceded his arrival, which was anxiously expected, and he had the happiness to find that his appointment had diffused a general satisfaction, which his presence now rendered complete. The students of the Oriental languages were eager to welcome a scholar whose erudition in that branch of literature was unrivalled, and whose labours and genius had assisted their progress; while the public rejoiced in the possession of a Magistrate whose probity and independence were no less acknowledged than his abilities.

"With what rapture he himself contemplated his new situation may be more easily conceived than described. As a Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Judicature, he had now that opportunity which he ever ardently desired, of devoting his talents to the service of his native country, and of promoting the happiness of the community in which he resided; while the history, antiquities, natural productions, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia opened an extensive and almost boundless field to his enquiries. He was now placed amidst a people whose pretensions to antiquity had hitherto eluded research, and whose manners, religion, and customs still retained the same characteristic peculiarities by which they were originally distinguished. Time, who spreads the veil of oblivion over the opinions and works of mankind, who annihilates empires and the records of their existence, had spared the doctrines and language of the followers of Brama, and, amidst the ravages of conquest, and oppressions of tyranny, seemed to protect, with parental care, some of the earliest monuments of his reign. The Hindoos, in fact, presented to the observation of SIR WILLIAM JONES, a living picture of antiquity; and although the colouring might be somewhat faded and obscured, the lineaments of the original character were still discernible by the most superficial observer, whilst he remarked them with discrimination and rapture.

"In December 1783, he entered upon his judicial functions, and, at the opening of the sessions, delivered his first charge to the Grand Jury. The public had formed a high estimate of his oratorical powers, nor were they disappointed. His address was elegant, concise, and appropriate; the exposition of his sentiments and principles was equally manly and conciliatory, and calculated to inspire general satisfaction, as the known sincerity of his character was a test of his adherence to his professions. In glancing at dissensions which, at no remote period, had unfortunately prevailed between the supreme executive and judicial powers in Bengal, he shewed that they might and ought to be avoided, that the functions of both were distinct, and could be exercised without danger of collision, in promoting, what ought to be the object of both—the public good.

"In the intervals of leisure from his professional duties, he directed his attention to scientific objects; he soon saw that the field of research in India was of an extent to baffle the industry of any individual; and that, whatever success might attend his own indefatigable labours, it could only be explored by the united efforts of many. With these ideas, he devised the institution of a Society in Calcutta, on

the plan of those established in the principal cities of Europe, as best calculated to excite and facilitate the enquiries of the ingenious, as affording the means of preserving the numerous little tracts and essays which otherwise would be lost to the public, and of concentrating all the valuable knowledge which might be obtained in Asia. The suggestion was received with the greatest satisfaction by several gentlemen to whom he communicated it, and the members of the new Association assembled for the first time in January 1784."

So far SIR WILLIAM JONES' biographer. We turn now to the first volume of the *Asiatick Researches*.* As a historic document, the foundation-stone of the great temple of Indian studies, the Introduction deserves to be quoted in full:—

"If this first publication of the *Asiatick Society* should not answer those expectations which may have been hastily formed by the learned in Europe, they will be candid enough to consider the disadvantages which must naturally have attended its institution, and retarded its progress. A mere man of letters, retired from the world, and allotting his whole time to philosophical or literary pursuits, is a character unknown among Europeans resident in India, where every individual is a man of business in the civil or military state, and constantly occupied either in the affairs of government, in the administration of justice, in some department of revenue or commerce, or in one of the liberal professions. Very few hours, therefore, in the day or night, can be reserved for any study that has no immediate connection with business, even by those who are most habituated to mental application; and it is impossible to preserve health in Bengal without regular exercise and seasonable relaxation of mind: not to insist that in the opinion of an illustrious Roman, no one can be said to enjoy liberty, who has not sometimes the privilege of doing nothing. All employments, however, in all countries, afford some intervals of leisure; and there is an active spirit in European minds which no climate, or situation in life, can wholly repress; which justifies the ancient notion, that a change of toil is a species of repose; and which seems to consider nothing done, or learned, while any thing remains unperformed, or unknown. Several Englishmen, therefore, who resided in a country every part of which abounds in objects of curious and useful speculation, concurred in opinion, that a Society instituted at

* "ASIATIC RESEARCHES, or Transactions of the Society instituted in Bengal for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Arts, Sciences, and Literature of ASIA." London, 1806.

Calcutta, on the plan of those established in the principal cities of *Europe*, might possibly be the means of concentrating all the valuable knowledge which might occasionally be attained in *Asia*; or of preserving at least many little tracts and essays the writers of which might not think them of sufficient importance for separate publication. The *Asiatick Society* was accordingly formed on the 15th of January, 1784, by those gentlemen whose names are distinguished by asterisks in the list of members at the end of this book; and ample materials have been already collected for two large volumes, on a variety of new and interesting subjects. By this publication the Institution may be considered as having taken root; but, the plant will flourish, or fade, according as the activity, or remissness, of the members and their correspondents shall promote or obstruct its growth. It will flourish if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologists, and men of science, in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the President or the Secretary at *Calcutta*; it will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease: for it is morally impossible that a few men, whatever be their zeal, who have great public duties to discharge, and difficult private studies connected with those duties, can support such an establishment, without the most assiduous and eager auxiliaries.

"Before we proceed to give a short history of the Institution, it may be proper to declare, that the Society will pass no decision, in their collective capacity, on any point of literature or philosophy; but that the writers of such dissertations, as they shall think worthy to be published from time to time, must hold themselves individually responsible for their own opinions; a declaration which is conformable, we believe, to the practice of similar societies in *Europe*.

"It having been resolved to follow, as nearly as possible, the plan of the *Royal Society at London*, of which the *King* is *Patron*, it was agreed, at the first regular meeting, that the following letter should be sent to the Governor-General and Council, as the *Executive Power* in the Company's territories: and their answer, which is also subjoined, was received in the course of the next month."

So far the introduction to the *Asiatic Researches*—the first document of organised Oriental research in India. Before reproducing the correspondence between the Society and Warren Hastings, Esquire, it may be interesting to record the names of the founders in full. The names of these original founders of the *Asiatick Society* are—The President, Sir William Jones, Knight; the Secretary, John Herbert Harrington,

Esquire ; and the following members : David Anderson, Francis Balfour, M. D., George Hilario Barlow, John Bristow, Ralph Broome, Reuben Burrow, General John Carnac, Sir Robert Chambers, Kt., Sir William Chambers, Charles Chapman, Burrish Crispe, Charles Crofts, Major William Davy, Francis Fowke, Francis Gladwin, Thomas Graham, Lieutenant Charles Hamilton, Thomas Law, Nathaniel Middleton, John David Paterson, Captain John Scott, Henry Vansittart, and Charles Wilkins.

It is curious to note that only two, the first and the last of these original members, ever attained to any high distinction in scholarship. Two observations are suggested by these names : *first*, the permanence of Anglo-Indian families ; and, *second*, the large proportion of Scotchmen amongst them. It is also notable that no native of India took part in this first gathering of students of India's past.

This is the letter mentioned in the introduction :—

To The Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

Governor-General, President ;

EDWARD WHEELER,

JOHN MACPHERSON,

and JOHN STABLES, ESQUIRES,

Members of the Council of Fort William, in Bengal.

HONOURABLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

A SOCIETY, of which we are members, having been instituted for the purpose of enquiring into the history, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of *Asia*, we are desirous that you will honour us with accepting the title of our *Patrons*, and request you to consider this application as a token of the great respect, with which We are

HONOURABLE SIR AND GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient and most humble Servants,

JOHN HYDE,

WILLIAM JONES,

JOHN CARNAC,

DAVID ANDERSON,

WILLIAM CHAMBERS,

FRANCIS GLADWIN,

JONATHAN DUNCAN,

THOMAS LAW,

CHARLES WILKINS,

JOHN DAVID PATERSON,

CHARLES CHAPMAN,

CHARLES HAMILTON,

GEORGE HILARIO BARLOW,

Calcutta, January 22nd, 1784.

THE ANSWER

GENTLEMEN,

WE very much approve and applaud your endeavours to promote the extension of knowledge, by the means which your local advantages afford you, in a degree, perhaps, exceeding those of any part of the *globe* ; and we derive great hopes of your attainment of so important an end from our personal knowledge of the abilities and talents of the gentlemen whose names we read in the subscription to your address.

We accept the title you have been so desirous of conferring upon us of *Patrons* to your Society, and shall be happy to avail ourselves of any occasion that may occur of contributing to its success.

We are, GENTLEMEN,
Your most obedient humble Servants,
WARREN HASTINGS,
EDWARD WHALLEY,
JOHN MACPHEKSON,
JOHN STABLES.

Mr. Hastings therefore appeared, as Governor-General, among the Patrons of the new Society; but he seemed, in his private station, as the first liberal promoter of useful knowledge in *Bengal*, and especially as the great encourager of Persian and Sanscrit literature, to deserve a particular mark of distinction; and he was accordingly requested, in a short letter, to accept the title of President. It was, indeed, much doubted whether he would accept any office the duties of which he could not have leisure to fulfil; but an offer of the honorary title was intended as a tribute of respect which the occasion seemed to demand, and which could not have been omitted without an appearance of inattention to his distinguished merit. His answer is also annexed:—

GENTLEMEN,

I AM highly sensible of the honour which you have been pleased to confer on me, in nominating me to be the President of your Society, and I hope you will both admit and approve the motives which impel me to decline it.

From an early conviction of the utility of the Institution, it was my anxious wish that I might be, by whatever means, instrumental in promoting the success of it but not in the mode which you have proposed, which, I fear, would rather prove, if of any effect, an incumbrance on it.

I have not the leisure requisite to discharge the functions of such a station, nor, if I did possess it, would it be consistent with the pride which every man may be allowed to show in the pursuit or support of the objects of his personal credit, to accept the first station in a department in which the superior talents of my immediate followers in it would shine with a lustre from which mine must suffer much in the comparison; and to stand in so conspicuous a point of view the only ineffective member of a body which is yet in its infancy, and composed of members with whose abilities I am, and have long been, in the habit of intimate communication, and know them to be all eminently qualified to fill their respective parts in it.

On these grounds I request your permission to decline the offer which you have done me the honour to make to me, and to yield my pretensions to the gentleman whose genius planned the Institution, and is most capable of conducting it to the attainment of the great and splendid purposes of its formation.

I, at the same time, earnestly solicit your acceptance of services in any way in which they can be, and I hope that they may be, rendered useful to your Researches.

I have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your most obedient and most humble Servant,

WARREN HASTINGS.

FORT WILLIAM,

January 30th, 1784.

On the receipt of this letter, SIR WILLIAM JONES was nominated President of the Society ; and at their next meeting, he delivered the following Discourse :—

“ When I was at sea last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently desired to visit, I found, one evening, on inspecting the operations of the day, that *India* lay before us, and *Persia* on our left, whilst a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this Eastern world. It gave me inexpressible pleasure to find myself in the midst of so noble an amphitheatre, almost encircled by the vast regions of *Asia*, which has ever been esteemed the nurse of sciences, the inventress of delightful and useful arts, the scene of glorious actions, fertile in the productions of human genius, abounding in natural wonders, and infinitely diversified in the forms of religion and government, in the laws, manners, customs, and languages, as well as in the features and complexions of men. I could not help remarking how important and extensive a field was yet unexplored, and how many solid advantages unimproved : and when I considered, with pain, that in this fluctuating, imperfect, and limited condition of life, such inquiries and improvements could only be made by the united efforts of many who are not easily brought, without some pressing inducement, or strong impulse, to converge in a common point, I consoled myself with a hope, founded on opinions which it might have the appearance of flattery to mention, that, if in any country or community, such an union could be effected, it was among my countrymen in *Bengal* ; with some of whom I already had, and with most was desirous of having, the pleasure of being intimately acquainted.

“ You have realized that hope, gentlemen, and even anticipated a declaration of my wishes, by your alacrity in laying the foundation of a Society for inquiring into the History and Antiquities, the Natural Productions, Arts, Sciences, and Literature of *Asia*. I may confidently fortell, that an Institution so likely to afford entertainment, and convey knowledge to mankind, will advance to maturity by slow, yet certain, degrees ; as the *Royal Society* which, at first, was only a meeting of a few literary friends at *Oxford*, rose gradually to that splendid zenith, at which a *Halley* was their Secretary, and a *Newton* their President.

“ Although it is my humble opinion, that, in order to ensure our success and permanence, we must keep a middle course, between a languid remissness and an over-zealous activity,

and that the tree which you have auspiciously planted, will produce fairer blossoms, and more exquisite fruit, if it be not at first exposed to too great a glare of sunshine, yet I take the liberty of submitting to your consideration a few general ideas on the plan of your Society; assuring you, that, whether you reject or approve them, your correction will give me both pleasure and instruction, as your flattering attentions have already conferred on me the highest honour.

"It is your design, I conceive, to take an ample space for your learned investigations, bounding them only by the geographical limits of *Asia*; so that, considering *Hindustan* as a centre, and turning your eyes in idea to the North, you have on your right many important kingdoms in the Eastern Peninsula; the ancient and wonderful empire of *China*, with all her *Tartarian* dependencies; and that of *Japan*, with the cluster of precious islands, in which many singular curiosities have too long been concealed. Before you lies that prodigious chain of mountains which formerly, perhaps, were a barrier against the violence of the sea; and beyond them the very interesting country of *Tibet* and the vast regions of *Tartary*, from which, as from the *Trojan* horse of the poets, have issued so many consummate warriors, whose domain has extended, at least from the banks of the *Ilissus* to the mouths of the *Ganges*. On your left are the beautiful and celebrated provinces of *Iran*, or *Persia*; the unmeasured, and, perhaps, unmeasurable, deserts of *Arabia*; and the once flourishing kingdom of *Yemen*, with the pleasant isles that the *Arabs* have subdued or colonized: and farther westward, the *Asiatick* dominions of the *Turkish* Sultans, whose moon seems approaching rapidly to its wane. By this great circumference the field of your useful researches will be inclosed: but, since *Egypt* had unquestionably an old connexion with this country, if not with *China*; since the language and literature of the *Abyssinians* bear a manifest affinity with those of *Asia*; since the *Arabian* arms prevailed along the *African* coast of the *Mediterranean*, and even erected a powerful dynasty on the continent of *Europe*: you may not be displeased occasionally to follow the streams of *Asiatick* learning a little beyond its natural boundary. And if it be necessary, or convenient, that a short name, or epithet, be given to our Society, in order to distinguish it in the world, that of *Asiatick* appears to be both classical and proper, whether we consider the place or the object of the Institution; and preferable to *Oriental*, which is, in truth, a word, merely relative, and though commonly used in Europe, conveys no very distinct idea.

"If it now be asked, what are the intended objects of our enquiries within these spacious limits, we answer,—MAN and

NATURE: whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. Human knowledge has been elegantly analysed according to the three great faculties of the mind—*memory*, *reason*, and *imagination*,—which we constantly find employed in arranging and retaining, combining and distinguishing, combining and diversifying, the ideas which we receive through our senses, or acquire by reflection; hence the three main branches of learning are *history*, *science*, and *art*. The first comprehends either an account of natural productions, or the genuine records of empires and states; the second embraces the whole circle of pure and mixed mathematics, together with ethics and law, as far as they depend on the reasoning faculty; and the third includes all the beauties of imagery and the charms of invention, displayed in modulated language, or represented in colour, figure, or sound.

“Agreeably to this analysis, you will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabrick of nature; will correct the geography of *Asia* by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of those nations who, from time to time, have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of government, with their institutions, civil and religious. You will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetick and geometry, mensuration, mechanicks, opticks, astronomy, and general physicks; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric, and dialectick; their skill in chirurgery and medicine; and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufactures, trade; and whilst you enquire, with pleasure, into their musick, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not forget those inferior arts by which the comforts, and even elegancies, of social life are supplied or improved. You may observe that I have omitted their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself. The attainment of them is, however, indispensibly necessary; and if the *Persian*, *Armenian*, *Turkish*, and *Arabic* could be added, not only the *Sanscrit*, the treasures of which we may now hope to see unlocked, but even the *Chinese*, *Tartarian*, *Japanese*, and the various insular dialects, an immense mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage.

“Having submitted to you these imperfect thoughts on the *limits* and *objects* of our future Society, I request your permission to add a few hints on the *conduct* of it in its present immature state.

"LUCIAN begins one of his satirical pieces against historians with declaring, that the only true proposition in his work was that it should contain nothing true : and, perhaps, it may be advisable at first, in order to prevent any difference of sentiment on particular points not immediately before us, to establish but one rule, namely, to have no rules at all. This only, I mean, that, in the infancy of any Society, there ought to be no confinement, no trouble, no expense, no unnecessary formality. Let us, if you please, for the present, have weekly evening meetings in this hall, for the purpose of hearing original papers read on such subjects as fall within the circle of your enquiries. Let all curious and learned men be invited to send their tracts to our Secretary, for which they ought immediately to receive our thanks : and if, towards the end of each year, we should be supplied with a sufficiency of valuable materials to fill a volume, let us present our *Asiatick Miscellany* to the literary world, who have derived so much pleasure and information from the agreeable work of *Kæmpfer*, than which we can scarce propose a better model, that they will accept with eagerness any fresh entertainment of the same kind. You will not, perhaps, be disposed to admit mere translations of considerable length, except of such unpublished essays or treatises as may be transmitted to us by native authors : but whether you will enrol, as members, any number of learned natives, you will hereafter decide, with many other questions, as they happen to arise : and you will think, I presume, that all questions should be decided, on a ballot, by a majority of two-thirds ; and that nine members should be requisite to constitute a board for such decisions. These points, however, and all others I submit entirely, Gentlemen, to your determination, having neither wish nor pretension to claim any more than my single right of suffrage. One thing only, as essential to your dignity, I recommend with earnestness : on no account to admit a new member who has not expressed a voluntary desire to become so. And in that case you will not require, I suppose, any other qualification than a love of knowledge, and a zeal for the promotion of it.

"Your Institution, I am persuaded, will ripen of itself ; and your meetings will be amply supplied with interesting and amusing papers, as soon as the object of your enquiries shall be generally known. There are (it may not be delicate to name them, but there are) many from whose important studies I cannot but conceive high expectations. And, as far as mere labour will avail, I sincerely promise that, if in my allotted sphere of jurisprudence, or in any intellectual excursion that I may have leisure to make, I should be so fortunate as to collect, by accident, either fruits or flowers which may

seem valuable or pleasing, I shall offer my humble *ress* to your Society with as much respectful zeal as to the greatest potentate on earth."

So far the first presidential address of SIR WILLIAM JONES, Knight, to the *Asiatick Society* of Bengal. It is curious, and indeed remarkable, to note his entire unconsciousness of the real ends which the movement he inaugurated was ultimately destined to fulfil. He and his colleagues are in search of 'curious,' 'entertaining,' or 'elegant' subjects; they range over the whole continent of *Asia*, in imagination, and even make excursions to *Egypt*, *Africa* and *Spain* without any defined sense at all of which countries, or which studies, merit their real attention, or are destined to bear real fruit of profound and lasting value.

For it will hardly be disputed to-day, and, with every year that passes, it becomes more certain, that the heart and centre of Asiatic studies, the element really vital to human life, is the high and earnest philosophy of India, with its deep intuition of the interior light of the soul, its unerring instinct for unswerving, inflexible moral law. We have, in this philosophy, not merely a subject of entertaining, curious, or elegant research, but a possession of lasting value; not less indispensable, not less essential, than the message of the Greeks, with their unerring instinct for beauty; not less to be esteemed than the profound instinct of Plato, the high seriousness of Dante, the broad and exquisite humanity of Shakespeare.

But SIR WILLIAM JONES and his colleagues had not even a dawning presentiment of their true work, and the true destiny of the Institution they founded. They talk, rather at random, of useful knowledge, of natural products, of researches into chirurgery, anatomy, astronomy; they weave elegancies about memory, imagination, and reason; they write of arts, literature, and sciences; but say not a word of philosophy, not a word of the high idealism of *India*, with its broad sanity, and perfect lucidity, which is *Asia's* and *India's* most perfect gift to the world.

Like the nomads of Gobi and Tarim, haunted by vague traditions of buried cities, of priceless treasures hidden beneath the shifting sands where their tents are pitched, they roam hither and thither, dreaming of treasures and the finding of them, but utterly uncertain where their search should begin, and not less uncertain of the true nature of the treasures they might be destined to find.

There is a delicious breath of the eighteenth century, with all its quaintness and delicacy and all its lack of high moral earnestness and profound insight, in this discourse of SIR WILLIAM JONES. One feels at once that he is writing under an

influence and inspiration that have already passed utterly away. It is the spirit of Gray which inspires his languages, and suggests his placid elegancies; the spirit of lines like these:—

“ Woods that wave o’er Delphi’s steep,
Isles that crown th’ Aegean deep,
Fields that cool Ilissus laves,
Or, where Meander’s amber waves
In lingering lab’rings creep,
How do your tuneful echoes languish,
Mute, but to the voice of anguish !
Where each old poetic mountain
Inspiration breathed around ;
Every shade and hallowed fountain
Murmur’d deep a solemn sound :
Till the sad nine, in Greece’s evil hour,
Left their Parnassus for the Latian plains.
Alike they scorn the pomp of tyrant power,
And coward Vice, that revels in her chains.
When Latium had her lofty spirit lost,
They sought, O Albion ! next, thy sea-encircled coast.”

Or, it is the spirit of Collins, the spirit of such verse as this :—

“ Where is thy native simple heart
Devote to Virtue, Fancy, Art ?
Arise, as in that elder time,
Warm, energetic, chaste, sublime !”

In a word, the whole attitude of mind, the whole moral and spiritual atmosphere of SIR WILLIAM JONES and his friends, was anything but calculated to call forth the deep and high message of India; was anything but timed to the iron chords of intuition and divinity which are now beginning to resound through the heart of the modern world.

We must, therefore, look rather for curious and entertaining information, or at best for ‘useful knowledge,’ in the early volumes of the *Asiatick Researches*; the lasting reality, the wisdom of ancient India, was destined to find different outlet to the Western world, and its dawn and growth in Europe may form the subject of our future study.

In the meantime, we may return to the *Asiatick Researches*, with their elegant and entertaining contents. The first paper in the *Researches* is from the pen of SIR WILLIAM JONES, Knight, on the subject of transmutation. He makes himself very angry over the various systems which seek to render the sound of foreign language to the ear, rather than their orthography to the eye. To set this point in a strong light, we need only suppose that the *French* had adopted a system of letters wholly different from ours, and of which we had no types in our printing-houses: let us conceive an *Englishman* with their language, to be pleased with *Mal* may

well-known imitation of *Horace*, and desirous of quoting it in some piece of criticism : he would read it thus :—

‘La mort a des rigueurs à nulle autre pareilles :
 ‘ On a beau la prier :
 ‘ La cruelle qu’elle est se bouche les oreilles,
 ‘ Et nous laisse crier.
 ‘ Le pauvre en sa cabane, ou le chaume le couvre,
 ‘ Est sujet à ses loix,
 ‘ Et la garde, qui veille aux barriers du *Lowre*
 ‘ N’en défend pas nos rois !’

“ Would he then express these eight verses in *Roman* characters, exactly as the *French* themselves in fact express them ; or would he decorate his composition with a passage more resembling the dialect of savages, than that of a polished nation ? His pronunciation, good or bad, would, perhaps, be thus represented :—

‘ Law more aw day reegyeursaw nool otruh parellyuh,
 ‘ Onne aw bo law precay :
 ‘ Law crooellyuh Kellay suh booshuh lays orellayah,
 ‘ Ay noo laysuh creeay.
 ‘ Luh povre ong saw cawbawn oo luh chomuh lah coovruh,
 ‘ Ay sozyet aw say lwaw,
 ‘ Ay law gawrduh kee velly ð bawryayruh dyoo Loovruh
 ‘ Nong dayfong paw no rwaw !’

“ The second system of *Asiatick* orthography consists in scrupulously rendering letter for letter without any particular care to preserve the pronunciation ; and, as long as this mode proceeds by unvaried rules, it seems clearly entitled to the preference.”

That the question was by no means so clear as *SIR WILLIAM JONES* believed it, is evident from the fact that the controversy as to transliteration is going on still. Three years ago, there were, and there probably are still, three rubber stamps—emblems of the highest civilization, and the latest improvements—in a district office, which rendered the name of the district in three different ways, *Murshidabad*, *Moorshidabad*, and *Moorshedabad*, in clear defiance of *SIR WILLIAM JONES* and *SIR WILLIAM HUNTER*.

The truth is, the difficulty lies, not in the theory of transliteration, but in the great English language, which has a vowel system unequalled for chaotic confusion in the whole range of written speech, while its consonants are hardly better. This was early noticed by *Mr. Halhed*, who had the reputation of being one of the three Europeans in India who had mastered *Sanskrit* in those early days, when, of course, no one in Europe even knew the rudiments of the language of the gods.

Mr. Earnestness recently remarked, that the two greatest enemies of the orthography of any language, are the application

of the same letter, to several different sounds, and of different letters to the same sound, and frankly admitted that both these defects were so common in *English*, that he was exceedingly embarrassed in the choice of letters to express the sound of the *Bengal* vowels, and was at last by no means satisfied by his own selection; and SIR WILLIAM JONES endorses his grievance in an eloquent lament:—

"*All things abound with error*," as the old searchers for truth remarked with despondence: but it is really deplorable that our first step from total ignorance should be into gross inaccuracy; and that we should begin our education in *England* with learning to read *the five vowels*, two of which, as we are taught to pronounce them, are clearly diphthongs. There are, indeed, five simple vocal sounds in our language, as in that of *Rome*, which occur in the words *an innocent bull*, though not precisely in their natural order; for we have retained the true arrangement of the letters, while we capriciously disarrange them in pronunciation; so that our eyes are satisfied, and our ears disappointed."

SIR WILLIAM JONES then quotes, with somewhat qualified approval, the opinion of Mr. Charles Wilkins on this same subject of transliteration. But practice is ever so much better than precept; so we may realise Mr. Wilkins' ideal far better from one of his notes on a Royal Indian grant, from the same first volume of the *Asiatick Researches*:—

"*Sombot*," says this note, "*Sombot*—implies the æra of Raajaa Beekromadetyo. The *Brakmans* throughout Hindostan keep times according to the three following epochs: The *Kolyabdo*, from the flight of Kreeshno, or commencement of the *Kolee Yoog*, 4884 years. The *Sombot*, from the death of *Beekromadetyo*, 1837 yçars. The *Sokoobdo*, from the death of Raajaa *Soko*, 1703."

In this wonderful note, one hardly knows whether to admire more the æra and epocha or the Raajaa and *Kolee Yoog*. It is only fair to Mr. Charles Wilkins, however, to say that he qualifies his choice: "In this translation, *Sanskrit* names are written as they are pronounced in *Bengal*; but in the following paper, the translator has adopted the more elegant pronunciation of *Varanes* and *Cashmir*."

For the benefit of the uninitiated, it may be worth while to point out that *Varanes* and *Benares* are variants of the same name. Certain passages in Wilkins' translation did not meet with SIR WILLIAM JONES' entire approval. One in particular he retranslates thus: "By whose policy the great Prince *Devapala* made the earth tributary, from the father *Reva*, whose piles of rocks are moist with juice from the heads of lascivious elephants, to the father of *Gauri*, whose white mountains are

brightened with beams from the moon of Iswara ; and as far as the two oceans whose waters are red with the rising and with the setting Sun."

One at once recognises the fitness of this mode of rendering. In an account of the Sculptures and Ruins at Mavalipuram, by William Chambers, Esq., there is a passage well worth quoting :—

" The rock, or hill of stone, above mentioned, is that which first engrosses the attention on approaching the place ; for, as it arises abruptly out of a level plain of great extent, consists chiefly of one single stone, and is situated very near to the sea-beach, it is such a kind of object as an inquisitive traveller would naturally turn aside to examine. Its shape is also singular and romantic, and, from a distant view, has an appearance like some antique and lofty edifice. On coming near to the foot of the rock to the north, works of imagery and sculpture crowd so thick upon the eye, as might seem to favour the idea of a petrified town, like those that have been fabled in different parts of the world by too credulous travellers. Among these one object, though a mean one, attracts the attention, on account of the grotesque and ridiculous nature of the design ; it consists of two monkeys cut out of one stone, one of them in a stooping posture, while the other is taking the insects out of his head." Mr. Chambers is very severe on the 'wretched superstitions' of the *Bramins* : "It is not, however, improbable, that the rest of this history may contain, like the mythology of *Greece* and *Rome*, a great deal of real matter of fact, though enveloped in dark and figurative representations. Through the disguise of these we may discern some imperfect records of great events, and of revolutions that have happened in remote times ; and they perhaps merit our attention the more, as it is not likely that any records of ancient *Hindoo* history exist but in this obscure and fantastic dress. Their poets seem to have been their only historians as well as divines ; and whatever they relate, is wrapped up in this burlesque garb, set off, by way of ornament, with circumstances hugely incredible and absurd, and all this without any date, and in no order or method than such as the poets fancy suggested and found most convenient. Nevertheless, by comparing names and grand events recorded by them, with those interspersed in the histories of other nations, and by calling in the assistance of ancient monuments, coins, and inscriptions, as occasion shall offer, some probable conjectures, at least, if not important discoveries, may, it is hoped, be made on these interesting subjects. It is much to be regretted that a blind zeal, attended with a total want of curiosity, in the *Mahommedan* governor of this country, has been so hostile to

the preservation of *Hindoo* monuments and coins. But a spirit of enquiry among the *Europeans* may yet perhaps be successful; and an instance which relates to the place above described, though itself a subject of regret, leaves room to hope that futurity may yet have in store some useful discoveries. The *Karwy* of *Madras*, who had often occasion to go to a place in the neighbourhood of *Malabalipoor*, assured the writer of this account, that within his remembrance, a ryot of those parts had found, in plowing his ground, a pot of gold and silver coins, with characters on them which no one in those parts, *Hindoo* or *Mahommedan*, was able to decipher. He added, however, that all search for them would now be vain, for they had doubtless been long ago devoted to the crucible, as, in their original form, no one there thought them of any value."

It is to be regretted that 'the spirit of inquiry among the Europeans' has not, after the lapse of a hundred years, been as strikingly successful as Mr. Chambers may have had reasonable grounds to hope it would be; otherwise we should not find the late Professor Whitney writing that 'all dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again.'

A very curious—perhaps, the most curious—thing in this first volume of *Asiatick Researches* is Mr. Turner's account of his visit to the 'Teeshoo Lama' of Tibet; and, as Mr. Turner's story is not very long, we may very well quote it in full:—

"On the 3rd of December, 1783, I arrived at *Terpaling*, situated on the summit of a high hill; and it was about noon when I entered the gates of the monastery, which was not long since erected for the reception and education of *Teeshoo Lama*. He resides in a palace in the centre of the monastery, which occupies about a mile of ground in circumference, and the whole is encompassed by a wall. The several buildings serve for the accommodation of three hundred *Gylongs*, appointed to perform religious service with *Teeshoo Lama*, until he shall be removed to the monastery and Musnud of *Teeshoo Loomboo*. It is unusual to make visits either here or in *Bootan* on the day of arrival: we therefore rested this day, only receiving and sending messages of compliment.

"On the 4th, in the morning, I was allowed to visit *Teeshoo Lama*, and found him placed in great form upon his Musnud. On the left side stood his father and mother, and, on the other, the officer particularly appointed to wait upon his person. The Musnud is a fabric of silk cushions piled upon one another until the seat is elevated to the height of four feet from the floor, embroidered silk covered the top; and the sides were decorated with pieces of silk of various colours, suspended from the upper edge, and hanging down. By the particular request

of *Teeshoo Lama's* father, *Mr. Saunders* and myself wore the English dress.

I advanced, and, as is the custom, presented a white pelong handkerchief; and delivered also into the *Lama's* hands the Governor's present of a string of pearls and coral, while the other things were set down before. Having performed the ceremony of the exchange of handkerchiefs with his father and mother, we took our seats on the right of *Teeshoo Lama*.

A multitude of persons, all those ordered to escort me, were admitted to his presence, and allowed to make their prostrations. The infant *Lama* turned towards them, and received them all with a cheerful and significant look of complacency. His father then addressed me in the *Tibet* language, which was explained to me by the interpreter, that *Teeshoo Lama* had been used to remain at rest until this time of day; but he had awoke very early this morning, and could not be prevailed on to remain longer in bed; for, added he, 'the *English* gentlemen were arrived, and he could not sleep.' During the time we were in the room, I observed the *Lama's* eyes were scarce ever turned from us, and when our cups were empty of tea, he appeared uneasy, and throwing back his head, and contracting the skin of his brow, he kept making a noise, for he could not speak, until they were filled again. He took out of a golden cup, containing confections, some burnt sugar, and, stretching out his arm, made a motion to his attendants to give them to me. He then sent some in like manner to *Mr. Saunders*, who was with me. I found myself, though visiting an infant, under the necessity of saying something; for it was hinted to me, that, notwithstanding he is unable to reply, it is not to be inferred that he cannot understand. However, his incapacity of answering excused me many words; and I just briefly said, 'That the Governor-General, on receiving the news of his decease in China, was overwhelmed with grief and sorrow, and continued to lament his absence from the world, until the cloud that had overcast the happiness of this nation by his re-appearance was dispelled, and then, if possible, a greater degree of joy had taken place than he had experienced of grief on receiving the first mournful news. The Governor wished he might long continue to illumine the world with his presence; and was hopeful that the friendship which had formerly subsisted between them would not be diminished, but rather that it might become still greater than before; and that, by his continuing to show kindness to my countrymen, there might be an extensive communication between his votaries and the *British* nation.' The little creature turned, looked steadfastly towards me with the appearance of much attention, while I spoke, and nodded, with

repeated but slow movements of the head, as though he understood and approved every word, but could not utter a reply. The parents, who stood by all the time, eyed their son with a look of affection, and a smile expressive of heartfelt joy at the propriety of the young *Lama's* conduct. His whole regard was turned to us, he was silent and sedate, never once looking towards his parents, as if under their influence at the time; and with whatever pains his manners may have been formed so correct, yet I must own his behaviour on this occasion appeared perfectly natural and spontaneous, and not directed by any action or sign of authority.

"The scene in which I was here brought to take a part, was too new and extraordinary, however trivial, if not absurd, as it may appear to some, not to claim from me great attention, and, consequently, minute remark.

"*Teeshoo Lama* is at this time about 18 months of age. He did not speak a word, but made most expressive signs, and conducted himself with astonishing dignity and decorum. His complexion is of that hue which, in *England*, we should term rather brown, but not without colour. His features good, small black eyes, an animated expression of countenance; and altogether I thought him one of the handsomest children I had ever seen. I had but little conversation with the father. He told me he had direction to entertain me three days on account of *Teeshoo Lama*; and entertained me with so much earnestness to pass another on his own account, that I could not resist complying with his request. He then invited us for to-morrow to an entertainment he proposed to make at a small distance from the monastery, which invitation, having accepted, we took our leave, and retired.

"In the course of the afternoon I was visited by two officers of the *Lama's* household, both of whom are immediately attendant on his person. He sat and conversed with me some time; enquired after Mr. *Bagle*, whom both of them had seen; and then, remarking how extremely fortunate it was the young *Lama's* having regarded us with very particular notice, observed on the very strong partiality of the former *Teeshoo Lama* for the *English*, and that the present one often tried to utter the name of the *English*. I encouraged the thought, hopeful that they would teach the prejudice to strengthen with his increasing age; and they assured me that should he, when he begins to speak, have forgot, they would early teach him to repeat the name of *Hastings*.

"On the morning of the 6th, I again waited on *Teeshoo Lama*, to present some curiosities I had brought for him from *Bengal*. He was very much struck with a small clock, and had it held to him, watching for a long time the

revolutions of the moment hand: he admired it, but with gravity, and without any childish emotion. There was nothing in the ceremony differing from the first day's visit. The father and mother were present. I staid about half an hour and retired, to return and take leave in the afternoon.

"The votaries of *Teeshoo Lama* already began to flock in numbers to pay their adorations to him. Few are yet admitted to his presence. Those who come, esteem it a happiness if he is but shown to them from the window, and they are able to make their prostrations before he is removed. There came to-day a party of *Kilmooks* (*Culmuc Tartars*) for purposes of devotion, and to make their offerings to the *Lama*. When I returned from visiting him, I saw them standing at the entrance of the square in front of the palace, each with his cap off, his hands being placed together elevated, and held even with his face. They remained upwards of half an hour in this attitude, their eyes fixed on the apartment of the *Lama*, and anxiety very visibly depicted in their countenances. At length, I imagine, he appeared to them; for they began all together by lifting their hands, still closed, above their heads, then bringing them even with their faces, and after lowering them to their breasts, then separating them: to assist them in, sinking and rising, they dropt upon their knees, and struck their heads against the ground. This with the same motions was repeated nine times. They afterwards advanced to deliver their presents, consisting of talents of gold and silver, with the products of their country, to the proper officer, who having received them, they retired, apparently, with much satisfaction.

"Upon enquiry, I learnt that offerings made in this manner are by no means unfrequent, and, in reality, constitute one of the most copious sources from which the *Lamas* of *Tibet* derive their wealth.

"No one thinks himself degraded by performing these humiliations. The persons I allude to, who came for this devout purpose, were attendants on a man of superior rank, that seemed to be more engrossed than the rest in the performance of the ceremony. He wore a rich satin garment, lined with fox-skins; and a cap with a tassel of scarlet silk flowing from the centre of the crown upon the sides all round, and edged with a broad band of *Siberian fur*. •

"According to appointment, I went in the afternoon to make my last visit to *Teeshoo Lama*. I received his dispatches for the Governor-General, and from his parents two pieces of satin for the Governor, with many compliments.

"They presented me with a vest, lined with lambskins, making many assurances of a long remembrance, and observing

that at this time *Teeshoo Lama* is an infant, and incapable of conversing ; but they hoped to see me again, when he shall become of age. I replied, that by favour of the *Lama*, I might again visit this country : I looked forward with anxiety to the time when he should mount the Musnud, and should then be extremely happy in the opportunity of paying my respects. After some expressions and protestations of mutual regard, my visit was concluded. I received the handkerchiefs, and took my leave, and am to pursue my journey toward *Bengal* to-morrow at the dawn of day." •

With this curious and entertaining recital, we may break off for the present. It brings to mind, more than any thing, that strange sentence of Emerson's :—

"Do not be deceived by dimples and curls. I tell you that baby is a thousand years old."

CHARLES JOHNSTON.

B. C. S. (Retd.)

M. R. A. S.

(*To be continued.*)

ART. II.—THE CONQUERING MARCH OF
RUSSIA.

Russia's March towards India. By an Indian Officer. With a Map. London: Sampson Low, Marston and Company. 1894.

BOOKS on the progress of the Russian arms and arts in Central Asia have of late been comparatively rare. The series of raids, campaigns, and battles—from the storming of the Khokandi frontier fort of Ak Masjid in 1853 to the annexation of the Merv Oasis in 1884, which in thirty years had made of Central Asia an appanage of the Empire of the Czar—was concluded with the delimitation of the Russo-Afghan frontiers; and, for the last decade, no further move forward has been made.

The voices of alarm have been stilled—some by death, some by the apathy of the public; and the words of the anonymous Indian Officer who now again calls our flagging attention to the slower, but still sure, approach of the Muscovite march to the Anglo-Indian frontier line, sounds like the “voice of one crying in the wilderness.” But we say to him that hath ears to hear, “Let him hear.” This book is the first attempt to place before us clearly the connected history of the military movements of Russia, southwards and eastwards, which have carried the banners and the boundary pillars of the Czar from the banks of the Dnieper and the Ural mountain chain to the mouth of the Danube and the northern slopes of the Hindu Kush. It is now little more than two hundred years since Peter the Great led his newly-raised Russian battalions, drilled and disciplined by Lefort and other French and foreign officers, to the siege of the Turkish fortress of Azoff, which barred the way to the waters of the Black Sea.

Throughout the two succeeding centuries, Russia unrolls before us a long and brilliant panorama of Oriental conquest, a dramatic series of desperate struggles, crowned with many triumphs, chequered by few defeats, and always culminating in fresh and vast acquisitions of territory. In these two centuries, Russia has destroyed two Musalman States, the Khanates of Crim-Tartary and Khokand, and has absorbed their dominions into her own: she has shorn the Ottoman Empire of half its territory in Europe and of much in Asia; and has taken Georgia and Armenia from Persia: Bokhara and Khiva have been reduced to vassalage, and only await their turn to become provinces of a Christian Empire: the tameless tribes of the Caucasus have seen the crests of their mountains

crowned by Russian forts, and the Turkoman's waterless deserts are to-day traversed by a Russian railway; neither the native valour of the Charkas and Lazgi, nor the fierce fanaticism of Islam, nor the most stupendous obstacles of nature have availed to stay the onward march of the conquering Muscovite, who has planted his victorious banners at the threshold of the Báb-i-Humáyún and on the battlements of the City of Timur.

When Baber founded the Mogul dynasty in Hindustan, the Russians were vassals to Musalman Tartars. Ibn Batuta, describing his travels in the land of the Tartars, says: "Between this place and Al Sarái, which belongs to the Sultan, there is a distance of ten days' journey. At the distance of one day from this place are the mountains of the Russians, who are Christians, with red hair and blue eyes, an ugly and perfidious people. They have silver-mines, and from their country is silver bullion brought. With it they buy and sell: each piece weighing five ounces."

Al Sarái, the palace where the moving tabernacle of the Khan of Kizil Urdu, or Golden Horde, was fixed after the Mongol conquest of Russia, is alluded to by the oldest of English poets, Chaucer, in the lines:—

"At Sara, in the lande of Tartarie
There dwelled a King who werreyed Russiaie:"

The little Grand Duchy of Muscovy was then surrounded on all sides by enemies, and its orthodox inhabitants were beset by the champions of hostile creeds. The Lutheran Swedes barred the way to the Baltic; the Catholic Poles intercepted the trade and civilisation of Western Europe; the Musalman Turks held all the shores of the Black Sea, and their cousins and allies, the Mogul Tartars, occupied the mouths of the Don and the Volga. But the native energy of the new-born nation broke through the ring of its encircling foes at the point of least resistance. The crumbling Mogul power fell before the vigorous blows of its Christian vassals, and the Czar, Ivan the Terrible, successively attacked and destroyed the Tartar Khans of Kazan and Astrachan, and opened the way to the Caspian. Bátor (Bahádur) Tora, son of the Khan of the Orímea, was slain in trying to relieve the former city, and the Turks in vain attempted a diversion in favour of the latter. They set themselves to cut a canal at the point where the course of the Don approaches closely to that of the Volga, by which they would have secured a continuous water-way from the Euxine to the Caspian. But the work was interrupted by the furious onslaughts of the savage soldiers of Ivan the Terrible, who routed the Turks and chased them to their boats. This first encounter between the

Russian and Turkish arms took place three centuries ago, and was a présage of their future fortunes.

The Porte, finding the conduct of operations at such a distance and in such a desert country difficult and tedious, consented to an accommodation, and abandoned the cause of the Tartars of Astrachan.

At that time the Ottoman Porte, conscious of its superior strength, in its pride and arrogance, never consented to a permanent peace with any Christian nation, and only granted a truce for a term of years; for the Turks then faithfully fulfilled the obligation of the perpetual "Jahád," or "Ghaza," against the unbelievers, and confidently looked forward to the speedy conquest of all Christian Europe. Their wonderful early career of victory gave some colour of excuse to this idle dream, which was soon to be rudely dispelled. The treaty of Sitvatorok, concluded between the Sultan, Muhammad the Third and the German Emperor Rudolph in A.D. 1606, was the first occasion when the Porte subscribed to a permanent peace with any Christian Power.

All through the seventeenth century there were frequent collisions between the Russians and Cossacks on the one hand, and the Turks and Tartars on the other, along the northern shores of the Black Sea and about the estuaries of the Don and the Dnieper.

The Cossacks descended these rivers in fleets of small boats, to plunder the Turkish lands; while the Tatar horsemen of the Crimea made annual raids on the Southern Provinces of Russia in quest of booty and slaves. Hundreds of Russian women and girls were annually shipped from the ports of the Crimea to the slave-market in Stamboul.

Occasion for quarrel being thus never wanting, several times regular hostilities were inaugurated by the Turks against their Russian neighbours, but the indecisive and petty operations that resulted were terminated by equally fruitless accommodations, and things always went on the same as before. But in the year 1678, the first war occurred between Turkey and Russia on a large scale. The debatable ground which always lay between the frontiers of Christendom and Islam (it would have been called a Neutral Zone in modern diplomatic parlance) was occupied by colonies of "Kazaks" (Turkish for robber or free-booter), refugees from justice, or vengeance, in the neighbouring kingdoms, who here lived the free life of outlaws, and justified their predatory and piratical practices by the plea that they were waged against enemies to their race and faith.

Though these Moss-troopers welcomed refugees of all creeds and nations, the majority of them were of Russian race and

of orthodox faith. The Zaporavian Cossacks, who dwelt in the islands of the Dnieper, had long acknowledged the suzerainty of Poland, who gave them her countenance and protection in return for the service they rendered in defending her frontiers from the raids of the Tartars. But in the seventeenth century the great Catholic re-action took place in Europe, and the Pope and his zealous followers spared no pains to recover their lost supremacy. In France, Henry the Fourth fell under the dagger of Ravaillac; in Germany, the flames of the Thirty Years' War threatened to consume Lutheranism, root and branch; and in Poland, the bigot cardinal-king, John Casimir, was induced by the Jesuits to abolish religious toleration and to embark on the policy of priestly persecution, which ended in destroying the independence of his unhappy country. Poland was sacrificed—and fruitlessly sacrificed—on the altar of the Church of Rome. The orthodox Cossacks were now bitterly persecuted by their Polish masters, to force them to conform to Catholicism; and, in their rage and despair, they turned to the Turk, like the Christian nobles of Bosnia two hundred years before, who unanimously took the turban when they found that the price of assistance from Western Europe was the reception of the Romish ritual. Following the example of these Bosniak Beys, and of the sturdy Calvinist "Sea-beggars" of Holland and Zealand, who wore the badge of the Crescent in their caps as a sign that they would rather serve the Turk than the Pope, these Cossacks escaped from Christian persecution by offering their swords and their services to the Sultan. He graciously accepted them, and even made war on Poland on their behalf: but the Cossacks soon realised that they had "jumped out of the frying-pan into the fire," and were not long in finding out that the little finger of a Turkish Sultan was thicker than the loins of a Polish King. They again transferred their facile allegiance, and this time to a monarch of their own orthodox faith, the Czar of Muscovy: an early instance of the great advantage which has politically accrued to Russia through her championship of the creed so dear to all the Slavonic peoples and Christians of the East. The hatred of the Greeks and the Servians for the Catholic religion always prevented them from heartily allying themselves with the Germans and Venetians during the attacks of the latter upon the decaying Turkish Empire.

But the Sultan was not willing to let the Cossacks escape, and, as he had fought the Poles to gain them, he now proceeded to fight the Russians in order to retain them. As the Czar refused to surrender them to Turkish vengeance, war was declared, and the Grand Vazir, Kara Mustafa, led an army of seventy thousand men to the invasion of the Ukraine. The

first campaign was fruitlessly wasted in the siege of the town of Cherson, which was obstinately defended by the Russians and Cossacks: in the second year, Cherson was taken, and the Turkish Army advanced into the Ukraine; but the Russians retired before him without giving battle, and the privations of campaigning in such a waste country and such a northern latitude, sorely tried the temper of the Turkish soldiery. They complained that the shortness of the nights interfered with the stated times of prayer. The traveller Ibn Batuta had previously been troubled by the same phenomenon. He wrote in his travels: "When, therefore, I was saying the prayer of sunset in that place, which happened in the month of Ramazán, I hasted; nevertheless the time for evening prayer came on, which I also went hastily through. I then said that of midnight, as well as that termed *Al Witr*; but was overtaken by the dawn."

Kara Mustafa and his men were sick of the war, in which his hopes of glory, and theirs of profit, did not seem likely of realisation: and he easily consented to a treaty of peace, which magniloquently proclaimed the magnanimity of the Sultan in granting such easy terms, and said nothing about the real bone of contention, which was quietly carried off by the Russian bear; and Kara Mustafa betook himself to fresh fields of Western war, where he lost his army and his life, and left his name to adorn the triumph of Sobieski.

This may be reckoned as the first regular war between Russia and Turkey: and it is noteworthy as the only occasion on which the Turks attempted an invasion of Russian territory on a large scale. All their subsequent wars were purely defensive; counting this war, there have been ten wars between Russia and Turkey during the two centuries which have elapsed from that time to this: giving an average of one war for every twenty years. In all these wars have the Russians been victorious, save in two—the third war, when Peter the Great was forced to conclude a disadvantageous peace on the banks of the Pruth, with the Turkish sabre at his throat; and the ninth, or Crimean War, when the tables were turned by the intervention of England and France as allies of Turkey.

The second Russo-Turkish war arose out of the defeat of Kara Mustafa before the walls of Vienna. All the nations that had so long been scorned and scourged by the Turk turned upon him in his time of trouble. While the Germans chased him from Hungary, the Venetians landed an army in the Morea, the Poles besieged Kaminiek, and Peter the Great attacked Azoff to gain an outlet to the Black Sea. This war opened a new chapter in the history of Russia's Oriental warfare. Hitherto the Russians had been, in manners and

customs, an Oriental nation ; much of their orientalism dated, no doubt, from the time of the Tartar domination. Their wars were waged in Oriental fashion. In discipline, equipment, and organisation, their armies resembled those of the 'Tartars and Turks opposed to them. But now Russia had obtained a standing army ; and henceforth she was to oppose the scientific tactics and the improved weapons of modern Europe to the ancient methods of warfare immemorial in Asia. The intelligent direction of the combined action of men in trained and organised bodies was to be employed against foes who trusted for success solely to numbers and valour, and to individual skill in arms and horsemanship. The conditions of warfare between the Russians and the Turks two centuries ago were, in many respects, strangely contrary to what they are at the present day. Then it was the Turks who adhered to the principle of universal service, which enabled them to put armies into the field three and four times as large as the largest force that could be mustered by the greatest European Power. The army which was wrecked by Kara Mustafa's folly at Vienna mustered two hundred thousand men. Their superiority in numbers was most strongly marked in their cavalry, in which arm they are now particularly deficient ; their individual training in marksmanship and horsemanship was as superior then as it is inferior now to that of the rank and file of European armies ; finally, their mode of fighting was skirmishing and the swarm-attack, which, since its abandonment by them, has been forced upon European armies in modern times by the invention of the breech-loader.

In this second war some Oriental methods still obtained in the Russian service, for Peter the Great, at the siege of Azoff, had his chief engineer officer flogged for negligence in carrying out his duty. But the engineer, who was a Dutchman, not understanding Russian methods of discipline, resented his treatment so grievously, that he deserted to the Turks, and, by betraying to them the besieger's plan of attack, caused the failure of the siege. The next year, however, Peter renewed the siege and took the city, and the Dutchman committed suicide to save himself from falling alive into Russian hands.

Peter the Great had too much on his hands in other quarters to allow him to prosecute the war very vigorously ; and the Turks were too distracted by the combined attacks of the Germans, Poles, and Venetians to do more than stand on the defensive. The war was terminated in 1699 by the general peace of Carlowitz, which the Turks purchased by surrendering Hungary to Austria, Podolia to Poland, Dalmatia to Venice, and Azoff to Russia.

After Peter had worsted his Swedish and Polish enemies,

he turned his attention again to the Turks and attacked them in the year 1711. At the same time he offered his protection to the patriots, or brigands of Montenegro, who were in arms against the Sultan, and commenced that propaganda among the Greek and Sclavonian *rayas* of the Turkish Empire, which has since borne such abundant fruit. His invasion of Turkey, however, turned out a complete, and was nearly a disastrous, failure.

All around the Turkish frontiers there then lay a zone of country which was little better than a waste, deserted by its inhabitants for fear of the man-stealing Tartars. This uninhabited and uncultivated zone formed a serious obstacle to a regular army, and Peter found himself in the plains of Moldavia starving for want of supplies, while his columns were surrounded by the myriads of the Turkish and Tartar horse. The Russian army was only extricated from its dangerous position by the firmness of the troops, who repulsed all the desultory attacks of the Sipáhis and Janissaries; by the skilful diplomacy of the Empress Catharine, the stupidity of the Grand Vazir, and the knavery of his lieutenants, who accepted the Empress' jewels as a bribe. As it was, Peter had to sign a treaty giving up Azoff again to the Turks.

Prince Kantemir of Moldavia, who accompanied the Russian army in this unfortunate campaign, says that the Russians proved themselves ignorant of the secret of success in Turkish warfare, not delivering a counter-attack immediately they had repulsed the unfaulty attack of their foes. They stood fast, and so allowed the Turks time to rally and renew the attack.

"Happy is that Christian General," says the literary Prince, "who hath withstood the first onset of the Turks:" for the rush of the Janissary was like that of the Highlandmen; and many a time the lives of German infantry were mown down by the swift and incessant strokes of the Turkish scimitars. The plan of the German Generals was to receive the Turkish rush with grape and musketry: if they could check it, they then made their troops advance, on which the Turks would raise a shout of, "Giaur geldi!" ("the infidel is coming!") and would renew their attacks hurriedly and confusedly; and the Germans still repulsing them by their steady fire, and front and still continuing to advance, the Turks would cry out "Giaur hasti!" ("the infidel hath come, or hath trodden on our heels!") and would so take to panic flight, thinking of nothing but saving their own lives, so that the Janissaries would shoot and kill the Sipáhis, in order to seize their horses to escape upon: for which reason, says Prince Kantemir, the Turkish horse always give their foot a wide berth, and will

not draw nigh to succour them in a battle, though they see them to be overthrown.

The cry of "Giaur geldi !" set up by the Turkish soldiery on the approach of the infidel host, reminds us of the cry of "Prussag idiet !" "(the Prussian comes !)" simultaneously sent up by the whole Russian Army, when they saw the columns of Frederick the Great's array arriving on the field of Zorndorff.

On that famous and fatal day the Prussian Army was drawn up to receive the Prussian attack in the same order which it used against the Turks : an immense hollow square, with the cavalry and the baggage inside, and the guns at the angles. This formation made Zorndorff the bloodiest battle of modern times. More than one-third of the Russian Army was put *hors de combat*. A single Prussian cannon-shot is said to have killed forty-two Russian soldiers !

This army square was the normal formation for battle adopted by the Russian Army in the fourth war, which was waged by the Empress Anne from 1736 to 1739, principally with the object of abating the nuisance of the raids continually made on the Southern Provinces of Russia by the Tartars of the Crimea, and other *protégés* of the Turks. The whole of the country from the banks of the Dniester to those of the Volga, from the frontiers of Poland to the shores of the Caspian, was then called by European geographers "Kleine Tartarei," or Little Tartary, in distinction from Great Tartary in Central Asia, all the tribes whom we call Kalmucks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, &c. now-a-day, being then lumped under the generic appellation of Tartars. Little Tartary was the happy hunting-ground of roving bands of Nogoi and Crim-Tartars, who had their general resting-place and refuge in the Crimea. They acted as Cossacks to the Turkish armies, and in their train often visited and plundered Poland and Hungary ; and from the frontiers of Russia they were never long absent. They much resembled, in their mode of life and character, the man-stealing Turkomans, who were such a scourge to Persia in our own day, and who have just been quelled by the Russian arms. These Tartars also excited much the same terror, and had the same reputation for courage and ferocity among the European nations, as the Turkomans among the Persians. Allusions to their cruelty and bravery are common in the literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The poet Prior wrote :—

" Observe the different operations
Of food and drink in various nations :
What Tartar could be fierce or cruel
On the mere strength of water-gruel ?
But how withstand his rage and force,
When first he kills, then eats his horse ! "

The well-known phrase of "catching a Tartar" refers to an incident which occurred in the German wars against the Turks in Hungary. Prince Kantemir says that the Tartars were much braver and better soldiers than the Turks in his time. But he also mentions that the Russians have, with their "knutes and battsgnes" (whips and rods) made the once turbulent Tartars of Kazan and Astrachan into the meekest-mannered of men. Nothing is more remarkable than the rapid loss of martial character by an Asiatic race when deprived of the opportunity for employing it. We have occasion to notice this in India in the rapid decline of military spirit among our own subject-populations. An unduly large proportion of our Sepoy recruits come from the territories of Native States.

The final resistance of the Crim-Tartars to the Russian arms was, indeed, so feeble, that we are led to suspect that their military capacity was always much over-rated. Anyhow, they are now the most peaceable and law-abiding of Russian subjects, with a quaker-like aversion to service in the Army.

In this war the Emperor of Germany was the ally of the Czarina, and the Turks, who still looked upon Russia as a second rate Power, of but little account, sent their Grand Vazir and their largest armies and best troops against the Austrians in Servia, adopting an entirely defensive attitude on the side of the Russians. The latter assumed the offensive on two different lines of operation; one army moving against the Tartars in the Crimea, the other against the Turks on the Dniester.

These armies had to reach their objective by traversing steppes destitute of inhabitants and producing nothing but grass. The Russian armies had to carry all their provisions and even sometimes their supply of water with them across these desert plains. They kept their communications open by erecting a chain of small redoubts at intervals of every ten or twelve miles. Each of these posts was garrisoned by ten or twelve musketeers and from twenty to thirty mounted Cossacks, the whole under command of a picked officer. Convoys and despatches were passed on from post to post; and it was found that both posts and convoys were well able to repulse the attacks of the wandering Tartars. When the garrisons of the posts were not engaged in escort duty, they occupied themselves in making hay of the long steppe grass, and storing it for forage. The Tartars frequently used to set fire to this long steppe grass to windward of the Russian camps, or line of march; so the first task of the troops, on encamping or bivouacing, was to clear away the grass for a space of several yards round the camp or bivouac.

Extraordinary precautions were taken in this war to foil the Turkish tactics. Each infantry battalion and cavalry regiment was furnished with portable *chevaux-de-frise*, made in lengths of two yards. These were carried on men's shoulders when the column was on the march, and were set down in front of the ranks when the troops were halted; and they formed a temporary entrenchment round the camp or bivouac—a "Zariba" as it would be termed now-a-days. Even the Russian cavalry used to defend themselves against the attack of the Turks by surrounding their halted columns with *chevaux-de-frise*.

Each infantry battalion was also provided with 350 pikes, eighteen feet in length, like those of the old Macedonian phalanx. These were carried by the middle or second rank (infantry being then formed in line in three ranks), instead of muskets and bayonets.

The army moved and fought in one large square, or sometimes in two or three smaller ones. The battalions were also in square, the sides of the army square being formed by lines or masses of battalion squares. The guns were at the angles, and also in the intervals between the battalion squares.

The baggage and cavalry occupied the centre of the square. Sometimes a triangle was formed instead of a square.

Halted in this formation, surrounded by *chevaux-de-frise* and with their guns firing from the intervals of the living hedge of steel, the Russian Army resembled a bristling fortress round which the swarms of Turkish horsemen careered in vain seeking for an opening. Napoleon Bonaparte afterwards employed similar formations against the Mamluks in Egypt with equal success, and, under the name of Ulundi squares, they have been revived lately in our own army to enable our troops to sustain the attack of swarms of brave and active barbarians.

The very first encounter of this war was a curious one. The Russian advanced guard of 400 Dragoons and 150 Cossacks was attacked and surrounded by swarms of Tartar horse. The Russians formed square, and the Dragoons dismounted half of their number, who opened a musketry fire; the Tartars, instead of charging, replied with showers of arrows. This extraordinary combat was only ended by the arrival of the Russian infantry and guns, on which the Tartars made themselves scarce, they having as great a respect for the fire of field-pieces as the Mahratta horse who, about the same time, gained their first experience of European methods of warfare in conflict with the French and English on the plains round Trichinopoly.

The Russian armies during this war were commanded by two foreigners—Field Marshals Münnich and Lacy,—the former a German, the latter an Irishman, and a refugee Jacobite. Another

exile from his native land was Keith, a Scotch Colonel in Münnich's army, who afterwards became famous in the service of Frederick the Great. The names of Gray, Douglas, McKenzie, &c., also occur among the General and Field Officers of the Russian army in this war. Many German names likewise testify to the assistance which Russia has derived from foreign aid in the training and leading of her troops.

All through her Oriental wars, the names of Weissmann, Rüdiger, Luders, Schilders, Dannenberg, Todleben, Kaufmann, &c., bear witness to the deep debt of gratitude which Russia owes to German military talent. When General Paskievitch was made a Field Marshal in 1828, in recognition of his victories over the Turks and Persians, he was the only Russian holding that rank in the Czar's army; his four brother Field Marshals being Diebitsch, Wittgenstein and Sacken—all Germans—and our own Duke of Wellington. The late Earl of Albemarle, who saw the Russian army at Adrianople in 1829, says that nine-tenths of their officers were Germans, or of German extraction. Perhaps he meant only their superior officers; but it is evident that, but for the military skill and science of the Western aliens, the Russian armies would have been as badly officered as their enemies the Turks, who had no European intelligence among them to leaven their native Mongolian stupidity.

In this war, the Russian armies entered and ravaged the peninsula of the Crimea from end to end every summer, retiring in the winter. The Tartars built a rampart across the Isthmus of Perckop to keep them out; but the Russians drew their attention and their numbers to one part of the wall by false attacks, and then scaled it at another and unguarded point. Another time Lacy avoided the rampart by crossing his army on to the spit of land between the Sea of Azoff and the Putrid Sea, and entered the Crimea by that road. On a third occasion he rivalled the passage of the Israelites over the Red Sea by crossing his army over the bed of the Putrid Sea, when a strong north wind had driven back its waters, and so took the rampart in reverse. Münnich defeated the Turks in a pitched battle at Choczim on the Dniester, and took that fortress and also Oczakoff near the mouth of the Dnieper: the siege of the latter town was signalised by horrible carnage, and the victorious Russians buried 17,000 Turkish corpses after their successful assault.

Many curious anecdotes are told of the iron discipline which Field Marshal Münnich maintained in the Russian army, and of the merciless severity with which he enforced it. As his effective strength was greatly reduced by the number of men in hospital, he is said to have given orders that

any soldier who was reported sick should be forthwith buried, to save the trouble of maintaining him in hospital. He turned the cannon of his siege batteries on his own troops at Oczakoff, in order to drive them back to the assault, when they hesitated again to face the Turkish scimitars. One of the Russian posts on the steppe having been surprised by the Tartars, Münnich had the officer who commanded it summarily executed, to inculcate vigilance on his comrades. During the march of the Russian army on Choczim, a Lieutenant-General was reported missing; he had strayed to some distance from the line of march, and was captured and carried off by some roving Tartars. When the town was taken, he was found imprisoned in the fortress. Münnich reduced him to the rank and pay of a private Dragoon for his negligence in allowing himself to be made prisoner; and he had to serve in the ranks during the remainder of the war, though he belonged to the Russian nobility, and, after the peace, entered St. Petersburg in his private trooper's uniform with fifty livery servants in his train.

The collapse of the Austrian operations in Servia and Bosnia, culminating in the capture of Belgrade and the invasion of Hungary by the Turks, robbed the Russians of the fruits of their victories in this war: but much experience was gained, the Tartars were thoroughly cowed, and the bugbear of Turkish military supremacy was laid for ever. The peace now signed lasted for twenty years: and then the fifth Russo-Turkish war was provoked by French intrigue. The cause was the first partition of Poland. The matter had really little to do with the Turks: the religious differences of Catholic Poles and orthodox Russians mattered nothing to men who treated all sects of Christians with the same contemptuous toleration: the growing power of Russia was, no doubt, a menace to the peace of the Ottoman Empire, but the danger was not to be neutralised by going forward to meet it.

But the agents of Choiseul, the French Minister, easily persuaded the stupid Turks that their empire was menaced by the Russian occupation of Poland, and the Russian Ambassador at Constantinople was imprisoned in the Castle of the Seven Towers, the Porte still pretending to regard all the Princes of Europe as its recalcitrant vassals.

The Diplomats of Europe still found their account in humouring the prejudices and the pride of the Turks, describing the arrangements by which they gained all the solid pudding and left him the empty praise, as "Capitulations," and otherwise playing to his ignorance and arrogance: and now Choiseul commenced the practice of using the Porte as a cat-paw to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. France, desiring to be-

friend Poland, and unwilling herself to risk her own skin, thrust Turkey forward to turn the edge of the Russian steel. The Osmanli was only a too eager dupe. The Arab proverbial story relates how the Ass said unto God : " Lord, how is it that Thou has created me, seeing that Thou hast already created the Turks ? " And God replied unto the Ass, saying : " Verily, we have created the Turks, in order that the excellence of thy understanding might become apparent."

When the Empress Catherine sent a Russian fleet to the shores of Greece, the Porte gravely addressed a note to the Seignory of Venice, remonstrating with them for having allowed the fleet to pass from Russia into the Adriatic and so into the Mediterranean. The deliberations carried on in the Turkish Divan, or Council of Ministers, read like a page out of a Gilbert-and-Sullivan's comic opera ; the strategic combinations of the Scraskiers and Pashas, like a scene from " Bombastes Furioso."

These wars of the Empress Catherine the Second,—the fifth and sixth Russo-Turkish wars,—are especially interesting, as affording a striking illustration of the difference of European and Oriental modes of warfare. The cautious tactics of the Russian leaders in the last war were now entirely laid aside : their tacticians had at last mastered the secret of success in Oriental warfare, the key to which may be summed up in Suvoroff's favourite maxim " Stuppai-i-bei ! " (" Forward and strike ! ") The Russian Commanders no longer put their trust in pikes, or *chevaux-de-frise*, nor did they stop to count the numerical odds against them ; wherever they saw the Turkish turbans, they pressed eagerly forward to the attack. Their bold, offensive tactics were rewarded by a series of signal victories, like those of our Indian Army at Laswarri and Assaye. Under Rumiantzoff and Suvoroff the Russians repeatedly attacked Turkish armies three or four times as numerous as their own, and tumbled the unwieldy host into irretrievable ruin, the Turks taking to panic flight, leaving guns, standards, stores, treasure, camp and baggage to the victors : and Frederick the Great observed sarcastically that " the one-eyed man was beating the blind man." By these victories all the lands North of the Danube in Europe, and North of the Caucasian chain in Asia, were soon swept clear of Turks ; the garrisons emptying themselves and joining in the flight of the armies : not a Turk was left in Moldavia, in Wallachia, or Abkhazia. But when the victorious Russians crossed the Danube, the war assumed a new aspect, and their arms received an unlooked-for and unexpected check. A tedious and interminable war of sieges succeeded to their brilliant and decisive triumphs in the field. They had now come into a country, not only garrisoned, but peopled

by their Musalman foes ; and the whole population of a Turkish town rushed to its crumbling walls to man them against the assaults of the Giaur. The Turk, who was as helpless as an infant in the field against the Russian tactics and the Russian artillery, proved a dangerous opponent behind stone walls, or even behind an earthen parapet. The numbers which had only served to swell the triumphs of the Russians on the plains by the Pruth and the Kaghul, now presented an inexhaustible array of fresh defenders. The names of Shumla, Silistria, Ruschuk, Varqa, and many another Bulgarian town commemorate more than one long story of desperate attack and stubborn defence to military history. The Russians besieged Shumla in four successive wars, but they never succeeded in taking it : and it was only the treaty of Berlin in 1878 that at last lowered the banner of the Crescent from " Ghaz! Shumla's " unconquered walls.

This obstinate war of sieges was more bloody in its results than many pitched battles in the field. Sir Edward Cust, in his work entitled " Annals of the Wars of the Eighteenth Century," says, that " the wars waged by the Empress Catherine against the Turks, for carnage and cruelty, exceed any others known in modern history." This carnage and cruelty, was due partly to the mode of fighting, partly to the religious character of the war, and partly to the barbarous Oriental code of warfare still in force among the Turks. The hand-to-hand combats in the trenches and in the breach, the street-fighting after the ramparts had been won, in which the Osmanli sabre was matched against the Russian bayonet, were attended with fearful loss of life to both victors and vanquished, the Turks especially, in the words of Prince Kantemir, " fighting more like wild beasts than men." Suvoroff, like Sir Charles Napier, trained his men to consider the bayonet a superior weapon to the sword, and to rely on it in preference to the bullet. " The ball is a fool, the bayonet is a hero," was a favourite maxim of Suvoroff's. " Stab the Turk with the bayonet," he said, " and then stab him again ; even when he is nearly dead : he may still tumble you over with his sabre." He practised his men sedulously at a bayonet exercise, probably the first introduced into European armies, teaching them to direct their thrusts at fascines dressed up in robes and turbans to look like Turks. At the storming of Ismail, the corpse of the Turkish Saraskier was found pierced by sixteen bayonet thrusts. The Russian horsemen adopted the lance as their favourite weapon to protect themselves against the Turkish scimitars, following the advice of the Imperialist General Montecuculli, who, in his treatise on " The Art of Fighting the Turks," had named the lance " La Reine des Armes Blanches," from

its efficacy against the sabre-wielding Turkish cavalry, who could not parry its thrust with their crooked blades : and it was, no doubt, their sharp experience of the Oriental scimitar that led the Poles and Cossacks to adopt the lance as their national weapon. In the Russo-Turkish war of 1827-29, the whole of the Russian cavalry adopted the lance, with the exception of one regiment of Hussars.

These wars were to the Turks, of course, Holy Wars, as being waged against Christian infidels ; and they were inspired also by the hope of re-capturing Kaminiek and other strong places that had once hoisted the banner of the Crescent : for they believed that God would not suffer a town in which mosques had been once raised, and where the *Asan* had been proclaimed, to remain long in the hands of the infidels ; a belief which was soon dissipated by the stubborn logic of facts. The cause of the sixth Russo-Turkish War (the second waged by the Empress Catherine) was this inability of the Turks to rest quiet under the loss of territory to the Dár-ul-Islám. The 'Ulama preached the Jehád against the Giaur Maskúb (infidel Russian), and the expedition to Kinburn was accompanied by Dervishes, who led the attacking columns of the Janissaries brandishing aloft copies of the *Koran*. These militant Dervishes were called "Hú-kasháns" from their cry of "Allah hú !" ("God is !") with which they used to excite the soldiery to fanatical frenzy. So Aurangzáb, in the battle with Dará, cheered the failing spirits of his followers with the shout of "Khudá hai !" The Russians, on their side, did not yield one jot in bigotry and fanaticism to the Turks.

At the battle of Choczim, a Russian priest, brandishing a huge brass crucifix at the head of his regiment, led it forward to a desperate assault upon the enemy's entrenchments. It was currently reported that a red cross had been seen floating in the sky over the dome of St. Sophia, presaging the restoration of the Christian worship in the capital of the Kaisars. The Earl of Albemarle says that, in the war of 1828, the Russian soldiers had a favourite song with a chorus of "Paidom Tchelegrad" ("Let us go to the Cathedral"), meaning St. Sophia : and Russian officers, on their dying beds, used to beg that they might be buried by the side of the road that led to Constantinople.

The barbarous code of warfare still in force among the Turks was answerable for much of the cruelty in these wars. Their chiefs offered a reward for the head of every enemy ; and prisoners of war were invariably enslaved, and sold for the profit of the captor. The 'Ulama refused to sanction an exchange of prisoners, on the ground that it would be acknowledging the equality of Christians with Musalmans : but they allowed

that it might be expedient to release a few Christians, if the liberty of many Musalmans might be obtained thereby. The Oriental technical expression for casualties in action is "Sar o Zinda:" ("Heads and Living:") the latter being the prisoners, while the Heads represent the slain enemies, and too often the wounded. This custom of head-hunting caused the massacre of all the Russian wounded who were so unlucky as to fall into Turkish hands: and this led to fearful reprisals. Quarter was rarely given by the Russians to a vanquished foe. The Cossacks, when auxiliaries of the Porte, used to practise this trick of decapitation, and the Russians had much trouble in breaking them of the habit. When it was proposed by the Russian commanders to try and dissuade the Turks from this barbarous practice, the Prince de Ligne objected, saying that it was altogether to the advantage of the Russians that it should continue: for it did no harm to the dead, was often a mercy to the wounded, and was always useful in reducing the soldier to the necessity of defending himself to the last.

But, as often happens, the cruelties and savageries of the Turks were forgotten in the horror of the Russian reprisals. The capture of a fortified town by assault always involved the wholesale massacre of its Musalman inhabitants. Forty-thousand Turks perished in the storming of Oczakoff by Potemkin: and an equal number were sacrificed at Ismail. "No quarter to-day, my children," said Suvoroff to his soldiers; "bread is scarce." On that fearful day the whole Turkish army, as well as the Musalman population of the doomed town, perished, man, woman, and child. Lord Byron, in his graphic description of this wholesale carnage in his poem "Don Juan," wrote:—

"Of forty thousand who had manned the wall
Some hundreds breathed; the rest were silent all!"

The news of this butchery sent a thrill of horror through civilised Europe, and the poet Coleridge thus apostrophised the victims of the insatiable ambition of Russia:—

"Ye who erst at Ismail's tower,
When human ruin choked the streams,
Fell in conquest's glutted hour,
Mid women's shrieks, and infants' screams,
Whose shrieks, whose screams, were vain to stir
Loud-laughing, red eyed Massacre!"

But these horrors were far surpassed by the mutual atrocities of Turks and Greeks in the Morea, where an insurrection of the Christians had been fomented by Russian promises of aid in men and money, very imperfectly fulfilled. A Russian fleet appeared in the Levant, destroyed the Turkish navy in the bay of Cheshma, in an engagement in which the English

captains in the Russian service had the lion's share of the fighting and of the glory. The Russians issued letters of marque to Greek pirates, and the coasts and commerce of the Levant were the promiscuous prey of ruffians of all nationalities cruising under the Russian flag, of whom the famous Franco-American privateer, Paul Jones, was one, and Lambro Katzones, the celebrated Greek corsair, was another. The Russian fleet visited Alexandria, and tried to acquire that city as a permanent place of arms in the Mediterranean by treaty with the Mamluk Beys of Egypt, who were, as usual, in revolt against the Porte. This project seriously alarmed the English and French Cabinets, and England now commenced that course of opposition to Russian policy in the East which culminated in the Crimean War nearly a century later. The successes of Catherine's arms in the Eastern regions excited the jealousy and apprehension of English statesmen to a great degree, and induced that solicitude for the maintenance of the Ottoman Empire which has so heavily handicapped England's policy in the Eastern question. But their anxiety was now allayed by fresh troubles in Poland, and by the outbreak of the French Revolution, which diverted the Empress Catherine's attention from her schemes of Eastern conquest, and gave employment to her forces elsewhere.

Her grandson, Alexander the First, soon renewed the attack and commenced the seventh Russo-Turkish war, which lasted for ten years; being continually interrupted by the operations against Napoleon in Central Europe calling off the Russian forces from the Danube. By the close of the war, the Russians had formally annexed the Roumanian provinces, and had mastered most of the fortresses on the Danube; but they yearly besieged Shumla in vain, and they were repulsed from the breach at Ruschuk, with the loss of eight thousand men. The Russians in Bulgaria sent aid to the Servian Christians, who, under the leadership of Kara George, had risen against their Turkish masters. A Russian Battalion proved a tower of strength to the insurgent bands, who could fight only in the same skirmishing fashion as the Turks: when worsted, they would rally behind the battalion, and sally from its shelter to make a fresh attack on the enemy. By the aid of the Russian auxiliaries, Black George, whose only idea of government was that of a Turkish Pasha, made himself absolute master and tyrant of Servia.

This war was finally put an end to by Russia's necessity, when threatened with invasion by Napoleon in 1812. England was, at this juncture, Russia's friend and ally, and her diplomacy was successful in persuading the Porte to make peace, and so setting free the Russian army of the Danube in time to arrive on the flank of Napoleon's retreat at the Berezina. The

Czar consented to annul his annexation of the Roumanian principalities, and abandoned Kará George and the Servians to Turkish vengeance. England had thus the double satisfaction of thwarting Russia's advance in the East, while assisting her against Napoleon on the Continent of Europe.

Fifteen years later, the Greek insurrection afforded the Czar Nicholas a plausible pretext for the eighth Russo-Turkish war. In this war a Russian Army crossed the Balkans for the first time. They had run their heads, as usual, against Shumla in vain; so they left it masked, and crossed the mountains to Adrianople, completely surprising the Turks, who, like all Orientals, acted as if the unexpected never would happen. With Diebitsch at Adrianople and Paskievitch at Erzeroum, the Porte had no alternative but to yield, and restore long-forgotten Greece to Christendom. The two campaigns of Field Marshal Paskievitch in Asia in this war are master-pieces in Oriental warfare. However much the Russians may be indebted for their success in their Eastern wars to German military talent, it is consoling to their national pride to reflect, that the two most famous names in these wars are Slavonic names, those of Suvoroff and Paskievitch. The signal victories in the field and the desperate and successful assaults on fortresses achieved by the latter, rival the most famous triumphs of the former.

The Russians, as usual, suffered fearful and almost incredible loss in this war—more by disease and privation than by the sword of the enemy. The plague generally accompanied the progress of a Turkish army and infected its foes. The late lamented Earl of Albemarle, who, as Major Keppel, has left a record of his experience with the Russian Army in this war, says that the loss of the Russians from sickness alone in one campaign was 70,000 men; of these more than 12,000, died of the plague in one garrison, Varna. A German Major, attached to the staff of Field Marshal Count Diebitsch Zabal-kansky, declared that no one but a Russian could undergo the fatigues and privations that accompany a protracted campaign in Turkey. And he might have added, that no one but a Russian would have shown the utter and brutal insensibility displayed by the Generals and other superior officers to the wants, the comforts, and even the lives of their men. The Earl of Albemarle writes:—

'The common answer of the Russian officers to our expressions of regret at the great loss they had sustained was: 'That is of no consequence: Russia does not want for soldiers.'"

All these wars were accompanied by considerable accessions of territory to Russia, at the expense of Turkey, principally in Asia: but the ninth, or Crimean War, had a different

result. England, France, and ultimately Sardinia also, came to the assistance of Turkey, and the Muscovite march was for once checked. But the honour and glory of the war remained with Russia. Single-handed, she resisted England and France, allied with Turkey and Sardinia, for two years, and then concluded an honourable peace. The French and British armies, after a year's strenuous siege laid to Sebastopol, gained possession only of a heap of ruins, and were never able to take possession of the forts on the northern side of the harbour. The closing scene of the war was the Russian capture of the fortress of Kars.

And finally, in 1870, the Russians tore up the treaty extorted from them in 1856, and the blood of our soldiers shed at Alma, Balaklava and Inkermann was spilled in vain.

In 1877 the tenth and last Russo-Turkish war was fought for the liberation of Bulgaria, and was soon decided by the overwhelming numbers of the Russian Armies. In spite of their long check at Plevna, they were at the gates of Constantinople within nine months from the declaration of war. A hundred years before, the Turkish armies had always outnumbered the Russian by three or two to one; now the disproportion is entirely the other way, and every year it is steadily growing: so that, in a future struggle, we may expect to see Turkey crushed by the mere weight of numbers alone. Russia's march towards the Mediterranean has now, however, been checked by the rise of the intervening Christian States of Roumania, Servia, and Bulgaria, which, while they are bound to her interests by ties of sentiment and of gratitude, offer an effectual bar to the southward extension of her territory. But in Asia no such barrier exists to her further progress, to be made at the expense of weak and semi-civilized Musalman communities. Peter the Great foresaw the vast field which Central Asia afforded for Russian enterprise and territorial expansion, and he was eager to occupy it. The state of anarchy into which Persia had fallen, after the Afghan invasion and the extinction of the Suffair dynasty, afforded him a golden opportunity. Under the pretence of assisting the young Shah Tamasp against his enemies, he flooded the Persian provinces of the Caspian littoral with Russian troops. The Czar came in person with an army to Derbend and Baku, made treaties with the Lesgi mountaineers, who were bitter enemies to the Shiya Persians, easily overcame the feeble resistance offered by the latter, and established a Russian administration in Ghilan and Mazandran.

* He also despatched an expedition to Khiva, under a Caucasian chief who had entered his service, and was called by the Russians Bekovitch (son of the Bek, or 'Beg), the

prototype of the Alikhanoffs and Nazarbeggoffs of our own time. The Khan of Khiva, unable to withstand the arms of the Russian invaders, made a feigned submission, and so imposed on Bekovitch that he was completely lulled into a false security and dispersed his troops among the Uzbeks for convenience of quarters and supply. At a preconcerted signal, the scattered Russians were everywhere surprised and massacred, and the too trustful Bekovitch shared the fate of his men.

After Peter the Great's death, the Russians also lost all his acquisitions in Persia as speedily and as peacefully as they had gained them. Nadir Shah had beaten and expelled the Afghan and Turkish invaders of his country, and had made himself absolute master of Iraq: and he now gave notice to quit to the Russian occupants of the Caspian provinces. A Russian Embassy, headed by a diplomatist, called Kamas (Kaunitz?) by the Persian historians, was deputed by the Empress Anne to the Court of Nadir Shah, to arrange matters with that monarch; but Nadir insisted on the immediate and complete evacuation of Persian soil as a preliminary to all negotiation: and the Russian Government reluctantly acquiesced, fearing the result of a conflict with the greatest captain of Asia, then at the zenith of his fame and at the head of a formidable army flushed with conquest. For some time afterwards, indeed, the Russians at Astrachan were seriously apprehensive of a Persian invasion. Nadir's death soon relieved them of their apprehensions, and threw Persia back into the slough of anarchy from which he had rescued her.

The Georgian contingent in Nadir Shah's ever-victorious army was commanded by a Christian prince, named Heraclius, and, on the death of his master, he led his division back to his native country, where he re-established the Christian Kingdom, just as his brother captain in Nadir's service, Ahmad the Abdali, similarly made himself King at Kandahar with the help of Nadir's troops and treasure. King Heraclius hastened to put himself under the protection of Russia, in view of the natural hostility of the neighbouring Turks and Persians; and the patronage of Georgia by Russia was the cause of the first Russo-Persian war.

When Agha Muhammad, the founder of the present Kajar dynasty, had again consolidated the Persian monarchy, he called on Heraclius to surrender Georgia: but the old King, trusting to the promised aid of Russia, defied him. The "Merciless Eunuch" at once marched his hosts upon Tiflis: and, before the Russians had begun to assemble an army to assist him, Heraclius had been defeated and put to flight, his

army scattered, Tiflis sacked and burnt, and thousands of Christian women and boys carried away captive.

The Russians came too late to save, but they remained to avenge. Agha Muhammad was returning to Georgia to expel them, when he was murdered in his camp; and shortly afterwards the death of the Empress Catherine and the accession of her mad son, Paul, put a stop to the operations on the Russian side for a time. A petty warfare was long carried on between the local governors on both sides, till the progress made by the Russians at last roused the Shah to action, and the Persians made a determined effort to turn the tide of war. This led to a remarkable change in Oriental methods of warfare. It had taken the stupid Turks one hundred years of sound beating from the Russians before they discovered any fault in their own military system: but the quick-witted Persians at once realised their own deficiencies, and set to work to form a new army on a European model, with the aid, first of French, and then of English officers. Napoleon despatched a Military Mission to Persia to train the newly-raised "Saibaz" to meet the Russians in the field. But the treaty of Tilsit was signed, and now Napoleon was the fast friend of Russia, and consequently the foe of Turkey and Persia. The French officers were expelled from Teheran, and a troop of English instructors took their place; and English officers died by Russian steel on the field of Arslan-duz. But again Napoleon and Alexander quarrelled, and Russia and England were friends once more. The English officers were consequently withdrawn from the Persian Army.

The Persians were fairly beaten out of the field, and Fath Ali Shah purchased a peace by the cession of Georgia and the adjacent coasts of the Caspian.

The war had lasted for twenty years. The second war was finished in two years. It arose twelve years after the conclusion of the first war, brought on by frontier disputes and by the resentment of the Persians at seeing Christians put on an equal, or superior, footing to the Mussalmans in the districts surrendered to Russia. Paskievitch made short work of the Persians, and reached Tabriz in two brilliant campaigns.

In the former war, the Persian cavalry was both numerous and active: it proved more than a match for the Cossacks, and kept the Russians continually on the alert. In the second war, it proved worthless; indeed, the old national force of irregular cavalry had practically disappeared, sacrificed to maintain a so-called regular army, which, without intelligent leaders, systematic training, and *esprit de corps*, entirely disappointed the expectations formed of it. The result of the establishment of a European army system in an Oriental

State like Turkey, or Persia, may be compared to that of putting new wine into old bottles. Persia yielded up part of Armenia, with Grivan, its capital, this time, and has ever since been practically at the mercy of Russia. She did not venture to make an effort to recover her lost provinces, even when the hands of Russia were tied by the Crimean War.

The Lesgis of Daghistan on the Caspian shore had at first hailed the Russians as allies against the heretic Persians; and during the last century the Muscovite rule appears to have been popular with the various tribes of the Caucasus: but during the wars of the Empress Catherine with the Turks, a strong Musalman *propaganda* was preached among the tribes and the flames of a Holy War were kindled, which were not quenched by the Russians till after fifty years of incessant strife and ceaseless toil and bloodshed. A succession of fanatical Imams and Mullas excited the brave and warlike tribesmen to the most desperate resistance to Christian supremacy: and the banded Murids and gallant Ghazis, who hailed in their ravings the inspired word of *Allah*, converted every cliff of their craggy mountains into an impregnable citadel. The complete conquest of the Caucasus by Russia in more than fifty years of incessant warfare is one of the most Herculean labours ever achieved by the genius of modern civilisation.

After the failure of Bekovitch's expedition against Khiva in the time of Peter the Great, the Russians made no further attempt on Turkistan until 1839, when a second time an army was despatched against Khiva under General Peroffsky, with the hope of putting an end to the system of raids on Russian territories and caravans carried on by Uzbeks and Kirghiz, and encouraged by the Khan of Khiva. But the frightful deserts which stretched around the oasis effectually protected Khiva from its enemies, and Peroffsky had to turn back *re infecta*, beaten by the forces of nature. The Russians, however, pushed their approaches from the side of Orenburg, and in 1845 the Great Horde (Uïdu) of the Kirghiz consented to put itself under Russian protection. In 1853 an expedition from Orenburg attacked the Khokandian frontier fort of A'k Masjid (the white Mosque). It was successfully defended by Ya'kub Beg, who afterwards became famous as Amir of Yarkand and Kashgâr; but, in the following year, the Russians returned in greater force and took the fort. The Crimean War put a stop to further operations for a time: but in 1862 the Russians were again upon the war-path, and in the next two years they had reduced and occupied all the fortified posts along the northern frontier of Khokand. In 1864, they took the important town of Chemkend; and, the next year

they defeated and killed Alim Kul, the regent of Khokand, under the walls of Tahskend. Soon after they stormed the city, and the Khan only retained his dignity and the semblance of power, by submitting to all the demands of the conquerors. The Amir of Bokhara rushed to the rescue of his co-religionists in Khokand; but he only shared their fate. The "Harakat-i-Mazbûhi" (Victim's death-struggle), which Bokhara waged against the might of Russia for two years, terminated, in 1868, by the acknowledgment of Muscovite suzerainty and the cession of Samarkand. In 1870, Shahr-i-Sabz was annexed: in 1873, Khiva was attacked, occupied, and reduced to the same state of vassalage as Bokhara. The fameless Turkomans of the Caspian deserts were next taken in hand; and the series of operations against them was concluded in 1894 by the occupation of the Merv oasis. In spite of all the resistance that could be offered by the arms of Islam and the diplomacy of England, the Russian frontier was pushed forward till it met that of Afghanistan.

The record of this twenty-years' warfare in Turkistan hardly contains the record of a single action worthy of the name of a fight; unless it be the gallant stand often made by small bodies of Russian troops against an Asiatic host contemptible in everything except in numbers. When we consider that Central Asia sent forth the soldiers who formed the armies of Amir Taimûr, who routed the Osmanli Turks at Angora, and wrested the strong city of Smyrna from the Knights of St. John, the flower of European chivalry, the cowardice of the modern Uzbek seems inexplicable. That twenty thousand armed men, fighting for their faith and their country, should take to flight before the attack of a foe not one-tenth of their number, without a stroke struck, seems incredible.

It is certainly unaccountable. Even the Afghan, whose physical courage Englishmen cannot doubt, fled in the same precipitate manner before Komaroff's Russians from the field at Pul-i-kishti, scared, apparently, by the mere terror of the Russian name.

Russia has not yet reached the furthest limit of her triumphal progress in Asia, nor closed the roll of her victories in Oriental warfare.

An old Russian military maxim of the Turkish wars says that, "wherever you see one turban, you may be sure there are a thousand more;" and wherever in Central Asia the round lambskin cap of the Russian rifleman appears, we may be tolerably certain that a thousand like it will follow. Russia's onward march will only stop when it is stayed by the English picquet-line. But before that time comes, many

years may yet elapse: and there are wide regions, still unsubdued and unoccupied, in Western and Central Asia, through which the march of the Russian may be long continued, going forth conquering and to conquer.

F. H. TYRRELL,
Major-General.

ART. III.—LOOSE STANZAS. .

THE object of these pages is to afford some notion of the true characteristics which distinguish the Eastern poet who has had such a paradoxical influence in recent days. The title is not intended to indicate moral laxity; if such there be, it will not come unpleasantly before us here; but some epithet had to be selected which would convey the true literary idea. Omar Khayyám has had a most singular fortune, and is perhaps but little understood even among those to whom his name has become a household word.

The general outlines of his life are familiar enough: how he lived in Khurasan during the time of the First Crusade, and devoted himself to the study of mathematics; was provided for by a Minister who had been his school-fellow; and died at an advanced age, when he was buried at Naishapur, the place of his birth. Omar's patron—from whose *Memoirs* we gather most of these particulars—died in 1092 A. D., assassinated by instigation of an ungrateful contemporary and former friend; but Omar is believed to have survived him for many years. The two points which the Minister recorded in regard to the poet were: 1st, his entire want of ambition; and 2nd, his accomplishments in exact science. The former was shown by his refusing the Minister's offer of public employment, that universal load-stone of Oriental desire; the second was displayed in the preparation of astronomical tables, and in active collaboration for a reformation of the usually accepted Calendar, which is said to be almost, if not quite, equal to the Gregorian.*

This retiring student was a Hedonist, in the truest sense of the word. He preferred the repose of his own humble home, whether as Astronomer Royal at Marv, or Merve, or else—and it is so that we more usually imagine him—in a little villa on the outskirts of his native town: these two being the extreme limits of his uneventful life.† Here, while the Franks were founding their short-lived Kingdom of Jerusalem, and the Seljuks preparing the fall of the Caliphate at Bagdad, we are a little rested from the din and havoc of a stormy world by thinking of the quiet scholar. But it is not in that character alone that Omar lives in modern memory. The intelligent curiosity of Joseph v. Hammer first revealed him to the European world as a poet, by an incidental glance in the

* But see the notice in Gibbon, C. lxii.

† Except, indeed, a legendary pilgrimage to Mecca, during which the poet is said to have visited Bagdad; in any case, it seems as if he did not know very much of the outer world.

History of the Assassins, published in 1818. He mentions the "epicureanism" of Omar Khayyám, and the "immortality" of his quatrains, "the only samples of humorous writing preserved in Persian literature;" and he speaks of Omar's philosophical character as shared with Ibn Yamin—commonly called Amir Mahmud—whom he designates "the Eastern Voltaire." Omar's fame as a poet then suffered another short eclipse, while his mathematical works were edited with a translation by M. Woepke (Paris, 1851). It was reserved for the *Calcutta Review* to bring the scattered limbs of the poet into Western notice by means of an article by Professor E. Cowell (January 1858), and about a twelvemonth later, Edward Fitzgerald gave the English-reading world a little poem, founded on seventy-five of Omar's stanzas, which—after descending to the "penny-box" of Mr. B. Quaritch—has taken rank with the most admired monologues of the age; has obtained the honours of art in the illustrations of an ambitious American; and has given rise to the foundation of a special cult, having its priests and worshippers in a London "Omar Khayyám Club."

It is difficult to understand all this. If we could imagine Sir Isaac Newton retiring to the outskirts of Cambridge, and scribbling epigrams in the company of potboys and prostitutes (which does not seem an easy feat of imagination), we should still feel a difficulty in supposing the epigrams preserved in M. S. for seven or eight centuries and then becoming the subject of study and admiration at the other end of the world. Nor does the wonder end here. Bodenstedt has edited the *Rubaiya* in Germany; and a handsome text, with French prose version, was published in Paris, under the auspices of the late Napoleon III, the editor being M. Nicolas, formerly of the French Embassy at Teheran. The date of this work was in the year preceding Fitzgerald's. The last named version—which (beautiful as it is) may be truly termed a "perversion"—was subsequently completed, and a revised reading will be found in Vol. III, of Fitzgerald's collected *Letters and Remains*.† This eccentric, but deeply interesting man—whose original family name was Purcell—became acquainted with Persian literature about 1853, and his first translation from it was a loose version of a poem by Jāmi, published three years later. Prepared by this and other preliminary exercises, Fitzgerald—now known by the name of his mother—attacked the quatrains of Omar. But something in the tone of a certain part of these fascinated him; he read into the disjointed ejaculations of the astronomer a continuous purpose and consistency of which they had

† By Aldis Wright. 3 vols, 1889.

no trace; and he has turned the scattered relics into a grand and gorgeous trophy.

Lastly a much more competent student, though with less sensibility* and individuality of style, devoted himself to the task of interpreting the real Khayyám. In 1883, Mr. E. H. Whinfield, M. A., contributed to "Trübner's Oriental Series" two works, the one a translation only, the other a translation with text on opposite pages. The double edition was further enriched by a scholarly introduction of thirty-two pages, and critical foot-notes. Mr. Whinfield's work is not—it may be said without offence—equal to Fitzgerald's in point of technique, nor in that indescribable magnetism which marks a "classic." But it is Khayyám, which the other is not. Sometimes his turns of phrase are very happy, sometimes very accurate as renderings; though it may be that a point laboured by the author is sacrificed by the translator, here and there, out of a desire for euphony, or a too fastidious taste. Mr. Whinfield also sometimes betrays a love of epithet and adjective which hardly does justice to the straightforward simplicity by which Omar is usually distinguished. But, with whatever little drawbacks, the task has been performed with intelligent integrity; and the intrinsic incoherence of a sheaf of epigrams, written in various moods and circumstances, is admirably preserved.

Adopting Mr. Whinfield's classification and availing ourselves generally of his guidance, let us now proceed to examine samples of each of the more important forms in which these quatrains are cast. We shall not, indeed, adopt Mr. Whinfield's exact expressions, but ask leave to vary them by some in which we think that the thought of the poet is rendered even more closely. But we shall remain under obligations of all sorts to our scholarly and patient guide. In a few stanzas there will be found phrases borrowed from a pamphlet printed privately many years ago by the great Celtic scholar, Mr. Whitley Stokes.

Mr. Whinfield's first class consists of, what he calls, "Complaints of Fortune." All protracted lives—such as Omar's was—are full of care, ever darkening towards the end; nor were the conditions of a peaceful philosopher especially favourable under the Seljukian dynasty in Central Asia. Alp Arslan and his successor, Malik Shah, were enlightened men; and the long administration of Omar's patron, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was remarkably efficient and prosperous. Nevertheless, the ordinary current of existence must have been often ruffled for a peace-loving free-thinker surrounded by blood-thirsty fanatics, whose ideals were so opposed to his. And when the Great Minister died—assassinated by the clients of one who had been the friend and comrade of both Omar and his patron—

the dynasty swiftly declined, and the conditions of the poet must have declined also. His pension, doubtless, ceased; and a total loss of income must needs shake a temper, however unambitious. In such considerations we shall surely find enough to account for all the querulousness and tragic tone of such laments as these :—

My span is but a few days, scarcely one,
Wind on the desert blowing, quickly gone;
Long as life lasts I care not but for two—
The day that is not, and the day that is done.

This vase once loved, like me, a lovely girl,
And bent in rapture o'er a scented curl,
This handle, that you see upon its neck,
Once wound itself about a neck of pearl.

Be watchful! Fortune menaces decent,
Sharp is the sword above thee: keep thy feet;
And if she offer thee a sugared nut,
Forbear to taste: there is poison in the sweet.

A hundred thousand Saints the past has seen,
Sinai a hundred thousand Prophets seen,
The Palatine full many an Emperor,
Kasra a hundred thousand Shahs has seen.*

That vault of azure, and that golden bowl,
Have rolled for ages, will for ages roll;
Even so—the destined sons of destiny—
We come and go, poor fragments of the whole.

When we are gone the world will still remain,
Yet neither name nor sign of us retain;
In days past we were not, and no one cared,
Nor will in future, when we are not, again.

Ah woe! our hands must drop their garnered store,
And Azrael's talons bathe our hearts in gore;
While from that bourne no traveller returns,
To tell us how they fare who went before.

Those sons of care whom mortals call "The Great,"
Have lives of trouble, all at odds with Fate;
Yet him who is not Passion's slave, like them,
They hardly reckon as of man's estate.

The old familiar faces! All are fled,
Under the feet of Azrael trampled dead;
At life's sad feast they shared the wine awhile,
But drank too quickly, and were quickly sped.†

The wheeling zephyr hides an unborn thought,
A cup with universal meaning fraught;
Lament not when the cup comes round to you,
But drain with gladness what your turn has brought.

* Assonance in unison;—a common practice of our poet: *Kasra* is a legendary Persian palace.

† We are reminded of a similar expression in French poetry :—

"Au banquet de la vie, infortuné convive,
J'apparus un jour, et je meurs."

[Gilbert, 1780.]

This wheel that will to none its course explain
 Mahmud, Ayaz, ‡ a thousand such has slain ;
 Drink wine ! For life is given to no one twice,
 And none that once has lived comes back again .

In circles of existence too long pent,
 And fallen from man's estate by sad descent,
 Since life can never bring us what we want,
 Would God satiety could feel content !

Pure from the void we came, impure we go ;
 Welcomed with joy we came, in grief we go ;
 Tempered with tears in furnace of the heart,
 Life given to the winds, to dust we go .

Help all you may their heavy loads to bear,
 Lay waste the shrines of sacrifice and prayer.
 This soothsay of Khayyám receive, O friend,
 Drink wine, take purses, but be kind to care.

This pile, whose gables wooed the smile of day,
 And on whose floor kings wont their brows to lay,
 We saw a dove upon its battlements,

• And all she said was—" Where, Ah ! Where are they ? "

The weariful monotone of Pessimism rises to a climax in the last of our samples, where the cry of Sophocles is unconsciously repeated :—

• Since all man gathers in this waste below
 Feeds him on ashes and then bids him go,
 Happiest is he who soonest takes his leave,
 Or he who never saw this world of woe. §

So far our poet might pass for a confirmed hater of life and all its gifts. But let us turn to another of his aspects, and see how he handles the unsympathetic men who are the main causers of his sadness, and their depressing tenets :—

II.

• •
 Temple and Kāba both are fanes of prayer,
 Bells and Mūazzins call alike to prayer ;
 Churches and mosques, crosses and rosaries,
 What are they all but instruments of prayer ? •

In fane or cloister, mosque or school, one lies,
 Adread of Hell, one dreams of Paradise ;
 But none that know the secrets of the Lord,
 Will sow their hearts with such absurdities.

If in your heart the lamp of Love you plant,
 Whether the mosque or synagogue you haunt,
 If in Love's Court your name be registered,
 Tell you will fear not, Heaven you will not want. •

‡ Mahmud of Ghazni and his favourite slave.

§ Not to have been surpasses all device ;
 But, having been, to go as quickly back,
 There whence we came, as may be possible
 Is far the second best

[*Oedipus at Colonus.*

Pity ! the raw should win the well-cooked cake,
 And prentice-bunglers mar the plans we make ;
 Sweet eyes that bid the hearts of men to beat
 Shine but for schoolboys, or for eunuch's sake.

If roses fail, my fate is thorns you see ;
 And, if light fails, why darkness does for me ;
 And if I find no place for Muslim prayer,
 I must make shift with Christian heresy.

Ah ! heedless race : the world's affairs are nought,
 Foundation of the wind ; whereof comes nought ;
 The bounds of being are two negatives,
 One on each side and, midway, you, too, nought.

Seek not to do the people harm by night,
 Lest they appeal to God from thee by night ;
 Lean not on strength or beauty of thine own,
 For this and that will leave thee soon by night.

The red wine in a festal cup is sweet,
 With sound of lute and dulcimer is sweet ;
 A holy man who does not think it so,
 He, too, a thousand miles from us is sweet.

But our poet is too genial to be satisfied with satire ; he could love ; and his love-notes have a tender pathos not common in Eastern literature. M. Nicolas, indeed, was led to believe that both Omar and Hafiz—whose treatment of the subject is most like Omar's—were Sufis with whom women and wine were but symbols put to indicate desire for God and spiritual absorption. On this point, however, attention is surely due to the opinion of contemporaries. Now, it so happens, that Shahrastāni, author of the *Philosophical Biography*, lived between A.D. 1085 and 1153, and must have known in what light Omar was regarded. He mentions him as a great scholar, versed especially in Greek, but *in no respect a Sufi* : his strong point was astronomy, his weak one want of self-control. With his testimony we may combine a few specimens of Omar's epicurean poetry, and leave judicious readers to draw their own conclusions :—

III.

On Love's sweet path pursue the offering heart,
 In Love's own precinct seek a perfect heart,
 A hundred temples are but beaten clay,
 Let be the temple, so thou find a heart.

Arise ! Where is the song you used to sing ?
 Your little mouth my spirit's food can bring ;
 But pour me wine as rosy as your face,
 My heart is like your ringlet's broken wing.

These compasses resemble you and me
 Whose heads are two, though one the body be,

About the centre, like a circle, twined ;
 But in one point they meet at last you see.*
 A jug of wine, a book of poetry,
 For stay of life a crust of bread give me,
 And thou beside me, in the wilderness !
 The Sultan's Kingdom better cannot be.†
 I cannot see the form mine eyes require,
 Nor can I bear the frustrated desire,
 Nor yet relate my pain to any one—
 Hard suffering, strange grief, delightful fire !
 Your love-nets hold my hair-forsaken head,
 For which my lips with wine are always red ;
 Repentance born of reason you have wrecked,
 And bid time tear the robe that patience made.

Akin to these amatory yearnings are the appreciations of
 spring and out-door life :—

IV

Now that new joy to earth the Zephyrs bring,
 And every living heart goes forth to spring,
 On every bough the hand of Moses gleams
 The voice of Jesus quickens everything.‡

[or, elsewhere, the same thought in varied phrase ;—

It is the season when the land grows green,
 And Moses's hand upon the boughs is seen :
 The breath of Jesus rises from the ground
 And weeping clouds above the landscape lean.]
 " I am Joseph's flower from Egypt," said the Rose,
 " My ruby mouth such glittering jewels shows "
 I asked her to produce another sign ;—
 " See," she replied, " with blood my raiment flows."

Here is a quatrain of which the original defies representation
 in English :—

Look where I may, I see on every side
 Fresh fountains § springing in the champain wide,
 And lawns that once were called the plains of Hell
 Now smile like Heaven, with ladies heavenly eyed.

* So one of our old poets :—

" Thy soul—the fixed foot—makes no show

To move, but does if t'other do ?

And though it in the centre sit,

Yet when the other far doth roam,

It leans and hearkens after it.

And grows erect as that comes home ;

Such wilt thou be to me who must

Like the other foot obliquely run

Thy firmness makes the circle just

And me to end where I began. [Donne : *A Valediction*]

† So Byron ; " O ! that the desert were my dwelling-place

with one fair spirit for my minister."

‡ The hawthorn and wild roses are likened to the white hand of Moses.
 The breath of Jesus is supposed to have had miraculous power [v. notes to
 Sale's *Koray*.]

§ In the original, " Kanthar ;" the fabled river head of Paradise.

The most characteristic, however, of all Omar's moods is unhappily that of remonstrance or revolt. The religion in which he was born and nurtured was one of which we can easily see the central doctrine, and how it leads to antinomianism, by thinking of the Puritans and the influence of Calvinism in Europe. The origin of Evil has never been an easy department of theology; and the purely Semitic view of the Deity gives much emphasis to the problem. Omar had inherited that view; and could never quite shut it out, however he might shift and turn. If Allah was a Mighty Sultan, having all human powers in their extremest dimensions, his foreknowledge must be equalled by all his other attributes. He knows what crimes a man will commit before that criminal is born; why then does He punish him for what he cannot help doing? Nay, the very materials and machinery of evil must be of Divine origin or creation: how then can man be held answerable for the inevitable result? These bewilderments must palliate, if they may not wholly excuse, a spirit of criticism which the enemies of our poet called "rebellious blasphemy," and which we cannot but deplore as needlessly flippant in some instances of expression. Yet there is a sincerity about them which goes a great way towards accounting for the tenacity with which human admiration has preserved these little poems. It will be hardly necessary to add that their author was no Atheist, not even an Agnostic. His addresses to the Deity, even when most audacious, are those of a convinced believer; sometimes offering the advice of an intrepid subject to his sovereign, sometimes throwing out the shrewd comments of a court jester; always recognising supremacy, often implying goodness. But let us hear:—

V.

If I go right, Thy guiding hand is—WHERE?
 If I go darkling, Thy clear-light is—WHERE?
 Dost 'Thou give Heaven for my obedience?
 'Tis due; but Thy benevolence is—WHERE?

The impress of His hand the vessels keep,
 Who makes and throws them on the rubbish heap
 But if they turn out well why are they broken?
 If ill, the blame is surely his to reap.

He makes Earth bear the firmamental thrust,
 He scars our hearts with sorrow, fear and lust,
 And many a ruby lip and perfumed lock
 Garners in clay and coffers in the dust.

When shame for sin committed stirs the heart,
 Hot from the breast the scalding eye-drops start
 And surely when the slave laments his fault
 Complete forgiveness is the master's part.

I drink, and every wise man does like me,
Which God, no doubt, regards indulgently—
Foreseen before the making of the world,
If I did not, where would His prescience be?
To keep from what is ordered beats our skill,
"Bid" and "forbid" are masters of our will;
Helpless we stand between their "Yea" and "Nay,"
Like guests advised to tilt, but not to spill.
Thou settest in my pathway snare and sin,
Saying;—"I slay thee if thou fall therein,"
The world is free from Thy command no jot,
Thine the command, but mine is still the sin.

A similar complaint was made by a forgotten English poet of the time of Shakespeare.

"Is it the mask or Majesty of power
To make offences, that it may forgive?
Nature herself doth her ownself deflower
To hate those errors she herself doth give

[GREVILLE, LORD BROOKE. *Mustapha*.

The last class named by Mr. Whinfield is that containing poems of submission and prayers for pardon. Without being a strong or persistent pietist, and, indeed, kept by his audacious humour from association with any school of mystics, Omar turned to his Lord in moments of dejection—

VI.

As we know Thee, the Zealot knows Thee not,
Like faithful followers strangers know Thee not,
Thou sayest—"The wicked shall be sent to hell,"
—Say so to some of those that know Thee not!

Better in wine shops for Thy secrets yearn,
Than patter praises that by rote we learn;
Ah! Thou art Alpha and Omega still,
Whether Thou please to cherish or to burn.

His mercy gained, what cause have we for fear?
His scrip being full, what journey need we fear?
If by his grace my face be once made white,
In no degree the black book will I fear.

I war in vain with nature—what is the cure?
I suffer for my doings—what is the cure?
I know his mercy covers all my sin,
For shame that He has seen it—What is the cure?

I weep, because I am of evil fame,
Defiled with many a lust and taint of shame;
Commanded things undone, forbidden done,
I weep to find my life so full of blame

Here the tone resembles that of *Job*; despondent, but not without faith and self-respect. This class of quatrain also reminds us of the old Hebrew poet in another way. A few of the stanzas, however they have found their way into the text, are evidently hostile commentators' attempts to answer

Omar out of the resources of scandalised orthodoxy. The limits of space will only allow of one example. The poet had declared his trust—quite in the spirit of the man of Uz :—

I grovel to appease the Heavenly will,
I found no claim by good to atone for ill,
Whereso Thy bounty pleases, there will come
Undone as done, and done as undone still.

But there was a contemporary poet, who wrote opposition quatrains. His name was Abu Saïd Fazl Ullah, and one of his pious comments* has found life on the margin of Omar's manuscript. This is it :—

Ah ! ne'er-do-well, that workest nought but ill,
Yet grovellest to appease the Heavenly will ;
Hope not for absolution ; evermore
Good will be good, and evil, evil still.

But before we close the book, let us take a hasty glance at one more of the poets' Chameleon phases, hardly included in any of the recognised classes, yet rightly noticed by Mr. Whistfield as characteristic of Omar. Readers of Horace recollect the attitude of which so strong an expression is to be found in the ode to Dellius :—* the friends reclining on the grassy bank of a stream, quaffing their wine under the shade.† In that attitude the astronomer of Khurasan is often to be seen ; sometimes careless, at others a little agitated by the anticipations of death and judgment. Here are a few random samples :—

At dawn* a voice came from the house of wine ;
" Ho ! reckless wastrels lying there supine,
Rise ! let us fill our measures full of drink
Before they fill your measures, yours and mine."
I'll drink till such a scent of wine shall rise
Out of the earth where my dead carcase lies,
That cupsick revellers, passing by the place,
Shall from that scent receive new enterprise.
Ah ! comrades strengthen me with draughts of wine ‡
Until my sallow cheeks like rubies shine ;
And wash me in it after I am dead,
And stitch my shroud with teddrils of the vine.
If I drink wine it is not for delight,
Nor unto holiness to do despite ;
I drink to breathe a moment free from self,
No other cause would make me drink all night.
Unless girls pour the wine the wine is nought,
Without the music of the flute is nought.
Look as I may into the world's affairs,
Mirth is the only good, the rest is nought.

* *Carm* III. *Lib* II.

† *Dum res et aetas et sororum Fila trium patiuntur atra.*

‡ *Canticles*. II. 5.

Clouds come, and soon will feed the grass with rain,
 Let Life's glad moments make our senses fain ;
 Rest thee, dear friend, a while, and drink with me,
 Till, of our clay, fresh grass shall grow again.

• We have found in European writing many diverse parallels for Omar's varying moods, and have seen that he had no plan, or "principle," no set intention of writing a continuous *Apologia pro vita sua*. Perhaps this very fitfulness it is that has endeared him to the fitful sons of men, and has given to the fugitive scraps of an Eastern astronomer's lost moments a charm which the world would not willingly let die. The general spirit is one of freedom and cheerfulness ; and everything is tolerated but intolerance. Mr. Stokes has admirably caught this in a stanza which—if not exactly answering to any one of Omar's, yet sums up his entire teaching :—

• " This is the time for roses and repose
 Beside the stream that through the meadow flows.
 A friend or two, a rose-like lady love,
 . . With wine ; and not to hear the clergy prose."

Or, perhaps, the only explanation of these "loose stanzas," in their inconsistency, is that we see Japhet dwelling in the tents of Shem, and observe the Aryan uneasiness under the yoke of an alien orthodoxy.

H. G. KEENE.

ART. IV.—THE CRIMINAL AND CRIME :

A REVIEW OF THE NEW SCIENCE.

THE two books which it is proposed here to review are the most interesting works which have been published on the criminal in English, of late years. They are associated here partly for the sake of contrast. The first is a short and comprehensive review of the New Science known as Criminal Anthropology,* the other gives the experiences of an able official,† who has, for 25 years, been in Her Majesty's Prison Service in England.

In the following pages first will be given a brief account, or summary, of the results of the active labours of that group of savants who have lately appeared, chiefly in Italy and France, who are known by the title of criminal anthropologists ; after which we will discuss the practical bearing of the said results.

In treating such a subject as crime, surrounded, as it is, by so many questions of social and political importance, it will be necessary to avoid, on the one hand, a weak sentimentality, and, on the other hand, a too complacent optimism.

The causes of crime are many and various. Many factors take part in its production. Such have even been found in the influence of climate. But the social factor is the most important of all, and has been studied the most. The relation between crimes against the person and the price of alcohol, between crimes against property and the price of wheat, belong to the social aspect of the study of crime. "The social environment," says a French writer, "is the cultivation medium of crime : the criminal is the microbe. He can only flourish in a suitable soil."

It is the individual, or biological, aspect of crime that has been so much worked up of late years. Under this heading is included the consideration of all the personal peculiarities of the criminal—anatomical, physiological and mental. This, though in our opinion by no means the most important factor, is one which has been little studied by Englishmen ; to it, therefore, we shall devote special attention. Without a knowledge of the criminal's physical and mental nature, we cannot wisely deal with the social factors.

* *The Criminal*. By HAVELOCK ELLIS (Contemporary Science Series), 1890.

† *Secrets of the Prison House*. By MAJOR ARTHUR GRIFFITHS (Chapman and Hall). 1894.

Before going into this matter it is necessary to clear ground by describing the chief varieties of criminals. We use the terms now commonly in vogue among the new school of criminologists, which are sufficiently practical to be accepted by all.

We may begin with a type which is often heard about now-a-days—the *political criminal*. One writer defines him “as the victim of an attempt by a more or less despotic Government to preserve its own stability.” He is consequently regarded, according to individual prejudice, either as a hero and martyr, or as a social pest. If his aims are merely anti-social, he is simply an ordinary criminal, and should be regarded as such; on the other hand, the form of Government he is fighting against *may* in itself be anti-social, in which case the ‘political’ criminal will be regarded in a favourable light. The term is not a happy one; like the word “heretic,” its meaning changes according to the personal opinions of the man who uses it. A good deal of nonsense has been said and written of late about ‘political’ crime. We must bring down these self-styled exceptional criminals to their proper level as vulgar malefactors. Anarchy, for instance, is nothing new; it is simply a new name for an old thing—defiance of all law. Anarchists are simply vulgar malefactors. There is no difference between those who murder under cover of a phrase and those who murder without a phrase at all.

We have next the *criminal by passion*. He is usually a man of honest life, with keen feelings, who, under stress of some great and unmerited wrong, has sought out justice for himself. He does not become a recidivist. The social instincts are strong in him. Next comes the *insane criminal*, that is, the man who, being *already* in a condition of recognised mental alienation, commits some crime. He may be impelled by delusions, or uncontrollable impulses, or influenced by the same notions which actuate a sane person. This type brings us near to the criminal in the sense with which we are here chiefly concerned. Between the *insane* and the *instinctive*, or *born*, criminal, there is a borderland, in which a type appears which is very difficult to classify. We will quote one recent example at some length:—

“Marie Schneider, aged 12, a school girl, not pretty, yet not ugly. Forehead slightly receded. She answered all questions in Court with great clearness and precision. She stated that she was wilfully idle; that she knew the meaning of the sixth commandment. She confessed to cruelty towards other children on several occasions. She knew that murder was punishable by death. She deliberately killed a child for the sake of her gold earrings. In prison the only complaint she made was that the bread was dry. She was intelligent beyond her years, but was morally an idiot. The Court gave her eight years’ imprisonment.”

Such a case as this is hard to classify. She was clearly not insane, but is a striking example of complete *moral insensibility*.

We now come to the most important variety, the *'instinctive criminal'*, of which there could be no better example than the well-known Thomas Wainwright—essayist, literary critic, poisoner, forger and murderer. Wainwright is a perfect type of the instinctive criminal, who, in his fully-developed form, is a moral monster. His instincts are distinctly anti-social and are usually accompanied with a high development of sensual impulses. The recent Australian murderer, Deeming, was also of this class. The next form is very common, *viz.*, the *occasional criminal*. Weakness and proneness to succumb to temptation is his characteristic. Poverty and hunger drive this class to crime. Under considerate care, such individuals are often rescued from their bad beginnings to lead honest lives, though too often the bad effects of prison company corrupt them, and they drift into the 'habitual' class. The *habitual* does not, to use the familiar words of the Latin Grammar, "become suddenly most base." The steps are slow and gradual. The great crime is linked on to a chain of slight and sporadic vices and offences. Closely akin to, or included among, the 'habituals,' are the *professional* criminals. These men are usually intelligent and guided by rational motives. They deliberately choose this method of gaining their livelihood. The famous French criminal Lacenaire, *le criminal élégant*, 'the bandit-Brummel of his blood-stained order,' was of this class. It need scarcely be said that these types are not absolutely distinct; for example, the professional is necessarily an habitual, and often an instinctive, criminal as well.

Let us now say a few words about the origin of the new science which has grown up within the last twenty years. The name commonly given to it—'criminal anthropology'—is cumbrous: 'criminal biology' has been proposed, but is too narrow; 'criminology,' though a hybrid term, seems the best that can be got. However, call it what we will, such a science has an existence, and a considerable amount of literature has grown up around it. This work has been almost entirely confined to France and Italy. In England almost nothing has been done in this direction. The British public is for the most part ignorant even of its existence. Undoubtedly there is much that is crude, immature, and fantastic in this new science; but that there is a solid substratum of truth in it, cannot be gainsaid. It is not so much the facts that have been elucidated that are difficult to understand; it is rather that the doctrine, if carried to its logical end, is difficult to apply and subversive of many time-honoured customs and forms.

There are many sayings and proverbs, handed down from primitive times, which show that men early began to perceive that certain organic peculiarities separated the criminal from the ordinary man. The empirical science of physiognomy was well known to the Greeks and Romans, centuries before Lavater was born: Aristotle, Galen and Seneca recognised many signs of crime and vice that are in accordance with modern knowledge. The two latter advocated the removal, by death, of instinctive criminals, not in revenge, but for the same reason as we destroy snakes, scorpions, or mad dogs. Among modern writers on the subject of the criminal are Gall, Lauverne, Despine, Maudsley, Wilson, Ferri, Mons. Tarde, Kraft-Ebing, Quetelet and Lombroso (of Turin). Of all the workers in this field, Lombroso is the most important. The first volume of his great work, *L'Uomo Delinquente*, was published in 1876; the second not till 1889. This work has been compared in importance with Darwin's "Origin of Species:" both gave an immense impulse to the study of their special subjects. We shall see later on that Lombroso attributes too much importance to the biological factor in criminality, to the neglect of the social. He acknowledges this, but with the remark that it was due to the fact that hitherto this side had been too much neglected.

We will now consider those physical peculiarities which are said by the above writers to characterise the *born* criminal.

Beginning with the skull and brain, it is said that both *small* and *large* heads are found in greater proportions among criminals than medium-sized ones. This is also true of the insane. The sugar-loaf form of head is often found among them, though it must be remembered that it is also met with in the highest types of humanity—the men of genius. Shakespeare's head, for example, was of this shape. A low, flat-roofed skull is common and is characteristic of degeneration. The size of the orbit is often great with marked exaggeration of the orbital arches and frontal sinuses. Receding foreheads have always been popularly recognised as being of a low type. The frontal crest is stronger and more prominent in criminals, as also in the lower races and in certain apes. Want of cranial symmetry is often marked. Any of these cranial defects may be found in a normal person, but very rarely are they combined to the same extent as in instinctive criminals. The *weight* of the brain does not seem to differ much. It is well known that Gambetta's brain was found very small. The brain convolutions have received much attention: in the criminal, it appears, there is a special frequency of fissures running together, *i. e.*, communicating with each other. "When these are numerous," said Broca, "they indicate degeneration." Signs

of *meningitis*, or inflammation of the brain membrane, are specially frequent.*

A square and prominent jaw is an obvious feature in many, especially those guilty of crimes of violence. The small receding chin is more frequent among petty thieves. Other observers note prominence of the cheek bones. Not much is known about their teeth. The criminal ear has been much studied. Projecting and voluminous ears are frequently seen among them. Ear deformities are frequent, too, in idiots as well as criminals. Not much definite can be said of their noses. They are said to be large, and often to deviate to one side. The pallor of the skin of criminals has been often noted. Wrinkles are said to be more frequent among them and to be met with at a very early age. The beard is usually scanty, while the hair on the head is often abundant. Baldness, which is common among the insane, is rare amongst criminals. Early grey hair is also rare: another point linking the born criminal to the epileptic. As to colour all that can be said is that there is a relative deficiency of red-haired persons among them. Beauty of face is very rare. The sameness of their appearance, when seen together in large numbers, has often been remarked. A cringing, timid, 'whipped dog' look has been noted. A curious fixed look about the eye is often found. An interesting point for those who deal with crime in India is, that these facts are said to be, *to a great extent, independent of nationality*. Forgers and poisoners have often an air of *bonhomie*, and are of benevolent aspect. This is part of their stock-in-trade.

In spite of all we have quoted above, it cannot be said that the writers have made criminal physiognomy a very exact science.

With regard to the body, the muscular system is generally feeble, though capable of great spasmodic effort. There is some reason to believe that long arms are frequent in criminals. Disease of the lungs and of the heart are also common. Various abnormalities of the sexual organs are frequently found.

We now come to the question of heredity.

The hereditary character of crime has been recognised from remote antiquity. In this there are two factors: innate disposition and contagion from social environment. "A bad home will usually mean something bad in the heredity in the strict sense." Another point in this connection is that often a generation of criminals is merely one stage in the progressive degeneration of a family.

* In this connection we may note the fact that, in the Dublin University Museum, there is a collection of skulls of murderers taken from an old jail, which nearly all show signs of *healed-up fractures*.—W J.B.

The family is usually neurotic (insanity, epilepsy and spinal disease). Alcoholism and phthisis are also very common. Disparity in age of parents is said to be of some import. Murderers are said frequently to be the offspring of aged parents in a state of decadence. Also alcoholism in parents is one of the most fruitful causes of crime among the children. It is recognised that temporary intoxication at the time of conception has a pernicious influence upon the nervous system of the offspring. Inebriety itself is an evidence of unsoundness; often the sign of slow and insidious brain disease. It is said that, when crime is committed by inebriates, the probability of mental disease is strong. The poison lets loose the individual's natural or morbid impulses. On the whole, there can be no doubt that the criminal parent tends to produce a criminal child. At times the criminal tradition is carried on through many generations. There is a family in America, 'the Jukes,' whose history has been carefully studied. The number of its individuals who have been traced, is 709. With few exceptions, the whole of them have been criminals, prostitutes, vagabonds, or paupers. Readers of Zola will remember the series of novels dealing with the Rougon-Macquart family. In the last one (*Dr. Pascal*), their genealogical tree is given. It is a terrible record of neurotic disease, insanity and crime. This record in fiction corresponds to Mr. Dugdale's history of the 'Jukes' family in real life.

The practice of tattooing is very common among criminals. This is a strange fact, as such marks might be thought to be dangerous, giving the police an easy means of identification. It is common to many nations, especially among soldiers and sailors. The causes are complex and need not here be discussed. It is probably a survival of a primitive custom.

Left-handedness is common enough among honest people, but perhaps specially so among the class we are considering. It is best tested in the act of throwing a stone. The tendon reflexes of the knee are often either in excess, or absent, among them. This is a well known sign of certain nervous diseases. The deficient sensibility of criminals to pain has often been noticed. This is common, too, among idiots and the lower human races. Though loud in their complaints of trivial ailments, they are often unconscious of severe illness. It is well known to every Jail medical officer what tortures they will inflict upon themselves to make themselves ill, in the hope of being rewarded by an easy time in hospital. Their eyesight is usually superior to the normal: another analogy between them and savage races. On the other hand, it appears that the criminal senses of hearing, smell and taste are below the average. Lombroso notes that criminals are specially sensible

to changes of weather. Their inability to blush is proverbial. This, too, they share with idiots and savages.

The moral insensibility of the instinctive criminal, his absence of remorse, his cheerfulness are well known. "If criminals," wrote Gall, "have remorse at all, it is that they have not committed more crimes, or that they have allowed themselves to be caught." "Few individuals in prison," writes Mr. Michael Davitt,* "gave any evidence of being truly miserable." Their cynicism and apathy displayed upon the scaffold is a notorious fact. Exaggerated and precocious cruelty toward animals is often recorded. In India no motive for murder is too unnatural, or too far-fetched, to be occasionally true.

It is often said that criminals are, as a rule, intelligent. Some do show undoubted intellectual power, for example, Villon, the French poet; Vidocq, first a criminal, afterwards a great French detective; and, in England, the celebrated Jonathan Wild, the hero of many a tale. His power of organisation and of enforcing discipline were Napoleonic. But such men are the exceptions. Criminals are usually very stupid: their cunning is on a level with that of savages and wild animals. "Their stupidity," says M. Mace, a former Chief of the Paris Police, "is scarcely credible." In planning crime, they seldom calculate all the possible eventualities. Their vanity is notorious; "they share this," says Lombroso, "with the artist and literary man, but far excel them in this respect." Vanity, in its extreme forms, marks an abnormal man. The author of a great crime is looked upon by his fellows as a hero; he himself looks down upon petty thieves. This same feeling doubtless leads to the frequency with which criminals keep diaries. The emotional instability of this class is well known. They are everywhere incapable of sustained work. They are constitutionally lazy. Their whole art lies in the endeavour to escape work. Nevertheless they are capable of moments of violent activity. The criminal loves excitement, or uproar, to lift him out of his habitual inertia. Hence his love of alcohol, gambling, and the sexual excitement, which, even in its worst forms, they indulge in from an early age. This craving for excitement and love of change finds its satisfaction in orgies, which this class are very fond of. These spontaneous outbursts are well deserving of study by all prison officials. It is partly to these periodic explosions (*Zuchthaus Knall*, as the Germans call them) that the *emeutes* and outbreaks which disturb the serenity of prison life are due. On this point Major Griffiths agrees with us. He says "the causes of prison-

mutinies can be traced to one or other of these causes, either weakness in the executive, or a well grounded dissatisfaction at ill-usage, or to this overwhelming and unceasing desire for change." "This becomes" he goes on to say, "such a passion with convicts that they are ready to run every risk and incur every punishment, even to death, in its pursuit." It must be remembered that, under the strict discipline necessary in a prison, every manifestation of a prisoner's personality is considered an offence; but such insubordination is not always voluntary: it is spontaneous, and cannot be suppressed. A precisely similar involuntary impulse has been noted among savage races. It is useful for prison authorities to bear this fact in mind.

In spite of the moral insensibility we have shown to exist in the criminal, it must be added that he is very open to sentiment. Any refinement, or tenderness in their natures appears in this form. It often shows itself in their love for tame animals as pets. "A German, having murdered his sweetheart, went back to the house to let loose a tame canary, which he thought might suffer from neglect!" Family affection is by no means rare. "Some of the most unscrupulous rascals," says Inspector Byrnes of New York, "who ever cracked a safe, or forged a coin, were at home model husbands and fathers." Criminals appreciate kindness and sympathy; the attention they bestow upon the sick is an estimable trait. This often fantastic sentimentality is the pleasantest side of the criminal nature, and the most hopeful for attempt at reform. As regards religion and superstition, it must not be supposed that their religion is always insincere and hypocritical. In religion, their primitive, unstable emotional nature finds what it needs. When he is not devout, the criminal is either stupid or brutally indifferent. Intelligently non-religious men are seldom found in prisons.

We need not here delay to describe thieves' slang, the use of which marks the recidivist. It would be interesting to know if there is—or to what extent there is—a thieves' *argot* among Indian criminals. It would be strange if there were not. Criminals often show a taste for literature, generally, indeed, only in the form of inscriptions, or verses, on their cell walls. It is a curious fact that several well-known literary men have, in their own writings, revealed themselves as distinct criminals,

* According to Lombroso, Verlaine is a "mattoid," or semi-insane (*Anglic* 'crank?'). An interesting study of this type appears in Lombroso's "Man of Genius," chap. 3 (English Edition). In this work is shown the connection between genius, insanity and epilepsy. Napoleon, Julius Cæsar, St. Paul, Mahomet, Swift, Richelieu, &c., were epileptics. Napoleon is an example of instinctive criminality, epilepsy, and, above all, genius. The whole subject makes a fascinating study.—*Vide* Lombroso's book in the Contemporary Science Series.—W.J.B.

e.g., Villon, the great French poet; Cellini, the great sculptor; Casanova, &c. In our own day it will surprise many to learn that M. Paul Verlaine,* the chief of the new so-called 'Decadent' school in literature, is a criminal, convicted for an attempt upon the life of his companion in sexual perversity. The portraits of Verlaine's head which have appeared of late in the illustrated papers, show rather the head of a criminal than of a man of genius—a heavy jaw, projecting orbits, sugar-loaf head,—the type which an early French writer called 'Satanic.' The old painters frequently depicted this form of head on their Satans and evil genii.†

So far we have summarised (chiefly from Mr. Ellis' book) the results of the investigations into this side of the criminal nature. What is the significance of these facts? Here we come upon more dangerous ground. According to the new science, the born, or instinctive, criminal is a distinct type of humanity. Indeed, Lombroso goes on to say that, "if the "men of any profession (who have a decided vocation for it) "were as accurately measured and studied as the criminal "class have been, there would evolve a special type for each "profession." In fact, we do often speak of a person who is successful in his own line, as a born soldier, a born lawyer, &c. In a similar sense it is claimed that there is a distinct type of the born criminal:

His characteristics may be briefly recapitulated as follows:—

A special shape of skull, a pale, prematurely wrinkled face, outstanding or otherwise deformed ears, a marked, projecting, or receding chin and scanty beard. He is constitutionally lazy, and incapable of sustained work. His muscular strength is weak, but capable of great spasmodic effort. He is usually ugly, the fixed look in the eye may be noted, especially during effort. He is liable especially to diseases of the lungs and heart. He comes of a neurotic, or criminal, stock; is addicted to alcoholism. He frequently tattoos himself; the tendon reflexes are abnormal. He shows a deficient sensibility to pain. While his eyesight is keen, his other senses are usually inferior. He is remorseless and indifferent to suffering. His intelligence is below the average. He has a strong craving for excitement and change and a love of orgy. Is liable to spontaneous and periodic outbursts of violence. He is open to sentiment, superstitious, and attracted to the emotional side of religion. He has a special language of his own. His instincts are, in fine, *antisocial*, and he frequently believes that crime

† Those who remember Hogarth's caricature of 'Liberty' Wilkes, will see the same type.—W.J.B.

is an honourable calling! Many of his characteristics are found in savages and animals. While abnormal in his physical qualities, the moral side of his nature is a blank. Though not intellectually, he is often *morally*, an idiot.

It is not that these qualities may not be found among honest people; it is that criminals present a far larger proportion of such abnormalities. This is exactly what Sir William Turner found in the skulls of savage races brought home in the *Challenger*.

While admitting this, we must remark that there is a tendency to put too much emphasis on the morbid element. Insanity is undoubtedly frequent in criminals. They are also closely allied to epileptics* and idiots. They are seldom, however, weak-minded.

Idiots, as we see them in asylums, have rarely any criminal instincts. We must, therefore, be on our guard, while recognising the morbid element in the criminal, not, on that account, to consider him irresponsible for his actions.

This brings us to the question of the treatment of criminals and the prevention of crime.

Crime, like disease, we have always had with us. The causes of both lie deep down in our social system. Poverty, misery, idleness, alcoholism—all go to make up the environment out of which the criminal emerges. "All societies have the criminals they deserve," said a writer. These social causes must be removed before we can expect to get rid of crime and disease. How this may be done, we cannot here concern ourselves with. In criminality, bad social surroundings are the soil in which alone the criminal microbe can flourish. To carry on the simile, we must try to attenuate the microbe by cultivation, that is, education, so as to render it as harmless as possible.

Great and numerous are the improvements which have been made in the laws dealing with crime of late years.

* At the time of writing, the following appears in a leader in the *Daily Telegraph*:—"Talking of the Anarchists—"The malady at the bottom of their diseased natures is vain-glory. Their passion is for publicity. Professor Lombroso, the celebrated Italian writer upon criminals, has published a study of such beings as Santo (the murderer of M. Carnot). He allows to them certain qualities, such as desperate resolution and reckless readiness to die. But in all of them alike—Booth, Sand, Ravachol, Vaillant, Henry, Santo—he finds this fanatical fury to be known and talked about. . . . He accounts for this, not by madness, but by the epileptic taint. Two of Santo's uncles are in an incurable hospital with epileptic pellagra. The Professor mentions many other assassins who, sane in every other respect, were epileptics, and displayed these paroxysms of personal vanity. They focus their forces not so much on the crime as upon the speech they will afterwards make in the dock in defiance of law and humanity."—*Daily Telegraph*, July 26, 1894.

Some countries have gone far beyond England in this respect; but such advance is not always on the right side, and often leads to a weakness and pusillanimity in regard to crime, which, in the present conditions of human nature, is premature and dangerous.

Let us first see what the advanced criminologists have to say on this matter. Says Mr. Ellis:—

“If every truly criminal act proceeds from a person in a more or less abnormal condition, the notion of ‘punishment’ loses much of its foundation. We cannot punish a monstrosity for acting according to its monstrous nature.”

The old conception of punishment was founded upon the assumption of the normality of the criminal, as though he, a normal person, had chosen to act as an abnormal one: as if a vine had chosen to bring forth thorns instead of grapes.

The true basis for all legal action against crime is the reaction of society against the person committing an anti-social deed. This, in its crudest form, is ‘Lynch law;’ in its most highly developed form, it shows itself in the elaborate training bestowed on the criminal at the Elmira Reformatory in New York.

The new feeling with regard to the criminal has shown itself chiefly with regard to capital punishment. In some countries the tendency to avoid resorting to this extreme is very marked. The chief argument against it which appeals to practical people, is that it is irrevocable, though mistakes must always be possible. It is also said that it is not always to the worst class of criminal that it is applied. “The real hardened criminal,” says Mr. Davitt, “seldom commits murder. Murder is generally the offspring of passion, or revenge,” except, we would add, in the case of the instinctive criminal.

Let us now turn to the prisons.

All will acknowledge that the two avowed and most obvious aims of imprisonment are to cure the actual, and deter the possible, criminal.

Major Griffiths, in his work, gives descriptions of prisons in various countries in Europe and America. Many of them, in some Continental countries, he describes as ‘Hells upon earth.’ It will surprise many to find that in this respect some parts of the United States are far behind the rest of the world. This will be understood when it is mentioned that some of the States actually *lease out* their prisoners to contractors for certain periods at a certain price. In Tennessee, for instance, “the Legislature has not only abnegated all responsibility for the treatment of its criminal classes, “by hiring them as slaves to an irresponsible company, but has “tied its own hands by a contract, which forbids all action for

"six years after passing the bill." This in the year of Grace 1894!

The Russian prisons, too, have become a byword of reproach. On the other hand, the best prisons of Belgium, France and Italy are models of cleanliness and routine. Those of England are equal to, if not better than, those any where else. Our Indian jails are now rapidly becoming equal in order, discipline and cleanliness to any in England. *If we can not be said to have reformed the prisoner, we have at least reformed the prison*,—an easier task, and one which shows more tangible results. In good prisons, the convict is well cared for; he is supplied with all the necessaries, and not a few of the comforts of life. "The hardest labour in our prisons is such that no prisoner could get a living outside if he did not work harder," says the Rev. Mr. Horsley.* "In English prisons," says another writer, "there is now a lower mortality, and no baby a lesser sickness, than in the most comfortable homes in the kingdom." What is more natural than this when we find epidemic poisons shut out (not always possible in India), famine shut out, luxury shut out, drink shut out, exposure to cold and wet shut out, acute mental worry shut out, the hungry strain for to-morrow's bed and board shut out.

Yet we are not satisfied. No, say the criminologists. "Why are our prisons failures?" asks Mr. Horsley. In the face of the phenomena of recidivism, and men and women with a hundred convictions, we cannot pretend that they are as deterrent as they should be. The prisoner, too often, is merely *suspended temporarily* from habits of crime. It is as if a small-pox patient were discharged from hospital after so many weeks, whether cured or not. Another writer calls jails manufactories of criminals. Michael Davitt, who has had personal experience of several prisons, speaks of them as elaborate punishment machines, destitute of discrimination, feeling, or sensitiveness, mechanically reducing human beings to the uniform level of disciplined brutes. M. Emile Gautier calls a prison a hot-house for poisonous plants. He points out, what no one will doubt, that there is a great difference between the '*bon détenu*' and the '*bon sujet*.' Habituals are often the most easy to manage, the most supple, the most hypocritical; and, therefore, favourites with the officials. "Imprisonment," again, to quote another writer, "especially, if short, is an excitation to crime."

There is another point which is often brought home to us in India. This is the fact, that often the jail is simply a welcome and comfortable home. It is well known that in

* *Jottings from Jail* (1887).

England it is preferred to the workhouse. "There can be no doubt," says an Italian writer, "that the life of a prisoner is superior from a material point of view to that which most of them are accustomed to lead in liberty." The perpetration of offences for the purpose of obtaining admission to prison is far from uncommon. The habitual prisoner is accustomed to jail life, and cares for no other; is suited for no other.

What then is the remedy proposed for such a state of affairs?

According to the new school, whose views we have extensively quoted above, the key to the failure of the prison lies in the system of giving definite and predetermined sentences by Judges who, being ignorant of the nature of the individual before them, cannot know the effect of the sentence upon him.

It is claimed by this school that criminal anthropology enables us to discriminate between criminal and criminal, and to apply to each individual his appropriate treatment. The first reform, therefore, advocated, is the substitution of an *indefinite* sentence for the predetermined judicial one, the order for release to be given when the prison authorities consider the prisoner reformed. This system is being tried in several countries. The best known example is that of the State Reformatory of Elmira in New York. Here prisoners are let out on parole for a probationary period of six months before actual release. It is said that, of the thousands who have passed through Elmira, only a small percentage prove recidivists. Another reform advocated, is the necessity for careful training of prison warders. If they do not understand the convict, there is little hope of the latter being socialised. Another and more doubtful reform advocated is the introduction of highly-skilled voluntary teachers, fresh from the outside world of men, for the criminals. It is not easy to see how fanatical, inexperienced, or merely curious, persons are to be excluded from such voluntary visiting. Dr. Way, of Elmira, writes:—

"The time of the convict should be so employed in his workshop and school duties as to leave him no time to revive his past, and live over again in memory his criminal days. Each hour should bring its employments and engage his attention till the time of sleep."

At Elmira, the treatment adopted consists of bathing, massage, drill, gymnastics and school work. It may be worth noting that this system was begun at Elmira because, owing to the jealousy of manufacturers, the law put a stop to productive prison labour. It is said, too, that at Elmira, with the physical culture and improvement, there came a mental awakening. The animal man recedes into the intellectual. In Japan, it is reported, a similar institution is working admirably. It is scarcely necessary to add that, in such a system, flogging can have no place.

Along with the indeterminate sentence, there must always be conditional liberation, *i.e.*, "ticket of leave." It will, of course, be agreed that, with any system, there should be a sound method of registration and recognition. The method of M. Alphonse Bertillon is now adopted in many countries. In Bengal it has been in force for some time past.

Another suggestion, is a method of dealing with '*occasional*' criminals, *viz.*, that of pronouncing sentences of imprisonment to hang over the head of the inculpated person for a limited period, as a guarantee of good conduct. They also recommend that the old English system of giving recognisances be extended.

We have thus far dealt with the ideas of the new school. It will have been seen that they, recognising the criminal as a degenerate type, seek to turn prisons into huge moral hospitals. Every individual prisoner is to be a 'case,' whose condition is to be studied, and whose cure is to be attempted. When he is 'convalescent,' he is to be discharged. In fact they seek to treat the *morally* degenerate in the same way as, in lunatic asylums, we now treat the intellectually degenerate.

The first and most obvious objection to this system is that it would necessitate the transfer of judicial functions from the usual tribunals to some newly-constituted prison, or philanthropical authority, with whom would rest the grave responsibility of measuring amendment, and of according release. This might prove a dangerous and corrupt doctrine. Their case would indeed be a hard one, if individuals were made answerable for the size of their heads, their large ears and beardless chins, and not for what they choose to do. It is admitted by Major Griffiths, that little has been done in England towards *reforming* the prisoner. He claims that the British system is the growth of time and the product of experience, and that, in the many changes introduced during the century, the aim and object has been progressive improvement. A writer in the *Daily Chronicle*, some months ago, made a series of severe attacks upon the English prison system, complaining, among other things, that the officials did not study, or paid little attention to, the labours of contemporary prison reformers on the Continent. Major Griffiths' book is an answer to this.

The science of crime is too new ; the results are so far too vague to justify any great change in our methods.* While welcoming all the work of the criminologists, it will be time enough

* At the time of writing, the papers say, that the line of defence to be adopted by the advocate for Santo (the murderer of the President), is that he belongs to the type described above, and is, therefore, not responsible for his deeds. This shows the danger of a too literal application of the above facts, and tends to bring the science into disrepute.—W. J. B.

to make far-reaching changes in our Judicial and Police procedure, when they have shown more clearly and definitely the road along which reform must proceed, and when the social conditions which lie around the childhood of criminals have been considerably ameliorated.

It seems to the writer that, in India, we have some reason to congratulate ourselves on the progress that has been made in Jail reform. In our large Indian Jails we have a complete system of trade-teaching. The hand and eye are trained. Many branches of industry are taught—farming, carpentry, weaving, cane-work, rope-making, tailoring, smithing and even printing, —all useful trades, which may serve to awaken an ambition to pursue a lawful calling, so that, when the time comes for release, and he comes again into contact with society, the ex-convict will not be handicapped by ignorance, or want of means, of earning an honest livelihood. We may apply the words of Major Griffiths about English Jails to those of India:—

"They may be no more perfect than other human institutions, but their administrators have laboured long and steadfastly to approximate to perfection.
 "Incarceration must continue till some other form of punishment has been devised; prisons are still indispensable, only they should be constructed,
 "governed, and used in accordance with humanity, justice, and common sense."

We have written this article to call the attention of those in charge of Jails in India to the work which is being done in other countries with regard to the criminal. How far the European results of criminology apply to Indian criminals it is difficult to say. There is a vast field for research in this matter. The Government of India is handing over the charge of all their Jails to the Medical Service. To Medical men such researches as those described above must be interesting and not difficult to carry out. We have here indicated a field for further research as interesting as it is important.

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July 1894.

ART. V.—ANCIENT RELIGIONS BEFORE THE GREAT ANNO DOMINI.

IN the Proceedings of former International Oriental Congresses, there have been most valuable communications on the subjects of Archæology, Astronomy, Geography, Language, Literature, Ethnology, Medical Science, Religion, Mythology, and Folklore; but the communications on Religion have been on particular portions of the great subject in different countries, and at different periods. I do not find that in any previous Congress the great feature of the history of the human race, "the Religious Conceptions," have been discussed as a whole, in the light thrown upon them by discoveries within the last quarter of a century; and yet it seems to be a subject worthy of an Oriental Congress.

In a communication which I made last year, 1893, to the Congress of the World, held at Chicago, U.S., on the subject of the "Progress of our Knowledge of African Philology," I ventured to affirm the remark of a great American authority, that "the religious instinct, like the language-making faculty, was a part, and an *indispensable* part, of the mental outfit of the human race." In each individual of the human race, in all times, has been found the threefold conception of "Self, the World, God;" Language is the vehicle, by which Self communicates with the World, his fellow-creatures, whom he knows, and he thus makes his wants and wishes intelligible: Religion is the vehicle, by which Self gropes into darkness, and tries to make his wishes known to, and to conciliate, the unknown Power conceived in his mind, and represented under various names, and attributes, as God. No history of the past is complete without some knowledge of the linguistic apparatus, and religious conceptions of the individuals, and nations, who played their part in that past.

Unfortunately in former years prejudice, and partiality, ignorance, and fanaticism, have prevented a calm and judicious discussion of the subject, not on the relative merits of this or that conception, but on the facts. But in the last twenty years there has been a great clearing of the atmosphere, and it is quite possible for reasonable men to discuss the subject without importing personal, national, or denominational, bitterness into the problem.

Dogmatic religion proceeds on the assumption by the writer, or speaker; that *his* view of the great subject is the *only* right one, and the *only* true view of the Universe. The science of

religion makes no such assertion, and keeps the mind quite free from personalities, as well as praise, or blame, of particular conceptions. It takes for its subject all such conceptions within any fixed limitation of time, and treats them simply as historical phenomena, without venturing on any opinion whether any, or which of them, have any claim to truth, for in very deed that is a matter of faith incapable of proof: the facts collected are quite amenable to the laws of evidence. Formerly any form of religion other than one's own was considered to be bad, dishonourable to God, and requiring to be put down by force, or social ostracism. It is not so now: there is no proof that God is dishonoured; at least such dishonour is not intended. The whole point of view is altered. Each man is thrown back on his own consciousness, if he thinks at all, and leaves other people alone; if he be humble-minded, he is willing to listen to the solemn voices, and messages, of the past. For the men who believed in, and were ready to die for, those forgotten religious conceptions, were men of like passions as this generation of men, and, if we believe anything, were made in the Image of God.

My remarks are restricted entirely to the great religious conceptions which came into existence before the fulness of Time, and the great Anno Domini, which marks a distinct intellectual division between the past and present, at least, as regards Europe, West Asia, and North Africa: thus, in this discussion there will be no allusion to the great religious conception which dates from Anno Domini, nor to the great religious conception of Islam, which sprang into existence six hundred years later. It will be remarked that both the excluded phenomena are propagandist, monotheist, and book-religions. These great features are not found united in any one of the great religious conceptions which came into existence before that date, and which now pass under review.

All expression of abuse, or disparagement, or praise, of the subjects discussed are out of place; all contrasts of one with another, favourably or unfavourably, are equally avoided. There is not the least reason for attributing to the writer any laxity, or haziness, in his own religious persuasions: quite the contrary; they are dearer to him than life, but they are placed on one side in this discussion, as they would be in solving a mathematical calculation, searching out the meaning of a sentence in a previously unknown language, or working out any other scientific problem.

In the present epoch, intellectual, and political, religious belief, as a principle, and standard of conduct, is more firmly implanted in the social attitude of man than ever it has been before. An individual is labelled in the census of his nation

as belonging to such and such a group. As there is no opportunity for intolerance, the merits, and demerits of any particular conception, or practice, can be fairly discussed. Those who do not consider it an open question to themselves, are compelled by social pressure to allow the liberty to others. Ignorance, prejudice, and fanaticism have been trodden down, and uniformity of belief is not probable, nor, unless the result of free choice, is it desirable. Moreover the present discussion is restricted to that portion of the subject which existed before the dawn of that great religious conception which now dominates the civilized world.

For any description of details of dogma, or practice, reference must be made to the numerous learned volumes which have lately appeared in several European languages, for there is no excuse for ignorance now; there are few branches of science, that have been so fully, so sympathetically, and so exhaustively, discussed, as that of the religious conceptions of the ancient world; and from this store of knowledge of facts, certain deductions can, by the ordinary processes of reason, be safely made: there is no fear of giving offence, or wounding the feelings of others, as the great majority of the frequenters of this Congress belong to a different world of religious conceptions, and, if one or two representatives of old-world ideas are present, they will hear nothing which are not quotations from esteemed books well-known to themselves.

These lines are not prompted by the feelings of an atheist, or a cynic, or a fanatic: Facts are recognised, based upon documentary evidence which cannot be disputed, and survivals of religious belief and practice which are patent to all inquirers. It can no longer be asserted, that the Jewish religious conception, and the Hebrew Scriptures, contain the unique and only record, that has survived that great epoch of the Roman Empire in Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, which divides History into two segments, one of actual historical continuity, and the other of dim legendary uncertainty. The discoveries of the last half-century have altered the whole platform of discussion: books written in past centuries are out of court, as martyrdom, miracles, prophecy, high morality, a knowledge of a future state with rewards and punishments, high aspirations of religious thinkers, long lives of purity and devotion, and self-sacrifice, for the sake of an idea, the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Mankind, are evidenced in the revealed literature of the ancient religious conceptions of mankind. Call it what you like, it is the voice calling out from the mummy-pit of Egypt, the excavations of Mesopotamia, the ancient manuscripts of India, Persia, and China, that there is a Power greater than

man, and that the hearts of all mankind insensibly turn to, fly to as a refuge, or try to conciliate, that Power in their own weak ways. Some, like Socrates and Buddha, have uttered thoughts which the world can never let die. The Hebrew Scriptures, though doubtless the grandest repositories of holy thoughts, and wonderful promises, have not the monopoly of the intercourse of the Great Creator with His poor creatures. The great mass of mankind in their numberless millions, and their centuries of generations, were not left entirely without that hope and guidance which was lavished so freely on the petty, graceless, disobedient, ungrateful, and unworthy Jewish race; on the other hand, the shafts of cynical atheists, discharged in a less well-informed century, fall far below the level of this high and illustrious topic. We are, indeed, still feeling in the dark for the great truth, but, of the mass of ignorance we may say, in the words of Galileo :—

“E pur si muove.”

I submit a morphological classification of Religions.

GRAND DIVISIONS:

I.—NATURE-RELIGIONS

II.—ETHICAL RELIGIONS.

I.—NATURE-RELIGIONS.

SUBORDINATE DIVISIONS:

(A) *Polydæmonistic magical* Religions under the control of Animism : to this class belong the religions of barbarous races without any culture, but, as we see them, they are only the degraded remains of what they must once have been.

(B) *Purified or organised magical* Religions.

Therianthropic Polytheism : of this class there are two sub-divisions :—

I.

UNORGANISED.

Japanese Kami no madsu, the
old National Religion.

Non-Aryan Religions, in
South and Central India.

Finn and Ebst.

Old Pelasgic.

Old Italic.

Etruscan.

Old Slavonic.

II.

ORGANIZED.

Semi-civilized American :

Maya, Natchez, Aztek,

Muisca, Inca.

Old Chinese.

Old Babylonian.

Egyptian.

(C) Worship of man-like, but superhuman, and semi-ethical beings ;

alias

ANTHROPOMORPHIC POLYTHEISM.

- Old Vaidic-Indian.
- Old Iranic before Zoroaster.
- Later Babylonian and Assyrian.
- Semitic. (Phœnicia, Canaan, Aramæan, Sabæan).
- Aryan (Keltic, Teutonic, Hellenic, Græco-Roman).

II.—ETHICAL RELIGIONS.

SUBORDINATE DIVISIONS :

(A) *National* nomistic Nomothetic Religions :

Taouism and Confucianism.

Brahmanism.

Jainism.

Zoroastrianism.

Judaism.

(B) *Universalistic* religious communities :

Buddhism

Christianity } after Anno Domini.

Islam

Tiele, 1885 "Ency. Brit.," vol. xx ; pp. 369-370. (Slightly amended).

But of these religious conceptions many are totally dead ; not only have ceased to influence the hearts of men, but have passed out of recollection. The spade of the excavator, the trained genius of the scientific explorer, the careful student of old manuscripts, have revealed to us a wealth of knowledge which escaped the Greek and the Roman inquirers.

I—DEAD CONCEPTIONS.

I. EGYPTIAN.

II. BABYLONIAN.

III. ASSYRIAN.

IV. GRÆCO-ROMAN.

V. TEUTONIC, KELTIC, SLAVONIC.

VI. SEMITIC.

VII. ETRUSCAN.

And many others.

II.—LIVING CONCEPTIONS

I. BRAHMANISM.

II. ZOROASTRIANISM.

III. JUDAISM.

IV. BUDDHISM.

V. JAINISM.

VI. CONFUCIANISM.

VII. TAOISM.

VIII. SHINTOISM

IX. ANIMISM in many different forms in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America.

- Each individual in his childhood found himself gifted with religious conceptions, which came to him somehow, and an instinct of worship, just as with a power of uttering articulate

sounds ; his instinct towards his fellow-creatures made him social : his attraction to God made him religious. One marked result of the comparative method is, that the facts on which all religious conceptions agree, are far more numerous than those on which they differ. Up to within half a century it was honestly believed that all divine truth was restricted to the knowledge of the Hebrews : all other religious conceptions of the Ancients were deemed to be ridiculous, immoral, and wicked lies. " This was the outcome of gross ignorance of the history of mankind, and an unworthy conception of the infinite Wisdom of the Creator. It does not come within the scope of this paper to discuss the popular theory of a primitive revelation of certain fundamental principles given to mankind in the cradle of their race. But we may fairly ask : what race ? Can black, brown, red, yellow, and white, already differentiated in the earliest Egyptian monuments, have ever been one race ? It cannot be asserted, because it is not susceptible of proof, that all mankind descended from a common pair ; but it is asserted, that all were made in God's Image, and that a sympathy with the Divine was bestowed upon all in different manner, according to His will ; and it does not lie in the mouths of those, who assert, as an article of faith, that all mankind are descended from a common pair, to limit His gracious love to a small fraction who, by their own annals, were sadly deficient in that Divine sympathy. Let us lay this hypothesis reverently aside, as having no foundation on any trustworthy evidence. At any rate the Hebrews to the end of their career denied any race-connection with the Gentiles : according to them they had not the same Divinity, the same customs, the same privileges, the same promises : they were totally, hopelessly, unclean. But there were certain things which, by universal admittance, they all had in common, intellect, power of articulate utterance, and an idea of a Power greater than themselves and outside themselves.

It cannot be said that any one of the ancient religions was more or less conformable to reason, was ethically better or worse, than those of their neighbours. Men walked in scientific darkness as to the phenomena of Nature : they believed that the earth was a flat plain, with heaven in the clouds above, and the place of departed spirits in the bowels of the earth below ; that the sun rose and set, that the moon was appointed to give light at night, that thunder was the voice, and lightning the weapon of the Divinity, that evil spirits could occupy a man and be exorcised by a priest, that coming events could be ascertained by augury, and the offended Deity be appeased, and even *sed*, by sacrifices ; and many other things, not wicked in

themselves, but inaccurate, and entirely unable to survive the dawn of knowledge. Poetic exaggerations and wild imagery, & consciousness that no such thing as criticism existed, were the features and the misfortune of all their sacred books without exception. When sometimes a great moral hero stood up with his eyes wide open, such as Zoroaster, Buddha, or Socrates, the hireling priesthood, which lived upon the old conception and establishment, the scum of the human intellect, and the sweeping of the Divine Altar, fought, branded as an atheist, got rid of by a cup of poison, or ostracism, the man with the new idea, the messenger and teacher sent from God

As yet it has not been possible to trace back to any one fundamental conception, any innate idea, any common experience, the various ancient religious conceptions; they seem to have grown in their own climatic, ethnic, and social environment; it is unnecessary to say that they had different origins, for they grew like plants in different gardens, at a distance from each other, with no possible inter-communication. Still the expanding conceptions of each age and clime were successive developments of continuous evolution of thought and advance of human intellect. It is obvious that such conceptions as Brahmanism, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism could not possibly have come into existence in the nineteenth century of the Christian era, but Buddhism and Confucianism might do so, and possibly may. We seem to detect at certain periods of time a struggle for survival, as of organisms and opinions: the one that is fittest for the environment and survives, not the fittest in the highest sense of morality, or knowledge of the Divinity, but the fittest for the intelligence of the worshipper. We see the same feature in the South of Europe still: if the form of a religion be degraded, it is because the worshippers are degraded: *Elevate* them intellectually, and their religious capacity rises.

What, then, shall we assume religion to be? It seems to be the reflection of the relation between a worshipping subject and worshipped object, just as a language is the reflection of a relation between a speaking subject and an object spoken to. This implies both distinction and unity. If there were no distinction, there would be no necessity for religion in the one case, or for language in the other; if there were no unity, there would be no intelligence of the message conveyed. With language the message is material, but not so with religion. We may fairly assume for all preceding centuries, what we know to be true for our historical age, that no one has ever seen God, or heard His voice, physically. The religious instinct with which man has been congenitally supplied, bridges

over what would be otherwise an impassable chasm. Special Revelation is claimed at all periods by all mankind, but for the sake of argument I lay it aside. We have to deal with facts, based upon material evidence, that all mankind, in all ages, have deemed themselves to have knowledge of God, and have tried to communicate with Him: and with the growth of intelligence, the desire to do so, and the power to do so, have increased; and it may be added, that even direct revelation would be useless, if man had not faculties to appreciate it, faculties, in which the child, the idiot, and the grossly ignorant savage, are totally deficient. The growth of their faculties, and their evolution, can be measured, and historical investigation has done this work for us. To any observer of the stream of time there cannot be a doubt that there has been, through all the ages, a gradual evolution of language, human culture, and sympathy, with things Divine, which we call religion; with each century a higher and higher type of each one of these human features has made itself manifest.

A few remarks might appropriately be made on each entry in the list given above: but really as regards the first category there is nothing to say. With the exception of the Græco-Roman conception (taking them together for the sake of this argument), none have left footsteps on the sands of time which can help or cheer those who followed after them. The world has done very well without them. No doubt, they occupied, at their appointed time, their place in the great drama, but they were overwhelmed, even those which possessed a vast literature, now made known, in the rising tide of new ideas, and we have not missed them in the sense in which Judaism, Brahmanism, Buddhism and Confucianism would have been missed, had unkind political events buried them out of sight. The very fact of their death and disappearance, without leaving a trace behind them during the succeeding centuries, argues that they were unequal to the position, were not crushed by intolerance, or stamped out by fanaticism, but died from their own weakness.

The Avesta, like the Old Testament, contains much that is of very different dates, strung together fortuitously, and representing the feelings of different centuries: portions often transposed, or attached to that with which it has no connection: often attributed to the wrong author. This need not be cause of surprise, and could not have been possible with a printed book. If some great man, or a succession of great officials, occupying for generations the same office, had left all their manuscript documents in a drawer of the office, and somebody in a later century had edited the whole to the best of his ability, and copied out all the component portions in

his own handwriting, the train of connection of one fragment with the others would have been hopelessly lost, until the time of higher criticism arrived.

In the beautiful Græco-Roman cult, as it existed in the decade preceding the great Anno Domini, we seem to realize the culmination of the religious conceptions of the Ancient World, or at least the Western portion of it, for China and the extreme Orient sat apart, and lived their own intellectual and spiritual life. The very names of Buddha and Kung-Fu-Tzee had, up to that date, not reached Western ears, and the ideas of Indian wisdom were hazy. The great store of religious conceptions which sprang into existence in Babylonia, and Egypt, before the time of Abraham, and in Iran and Assyria, at subsequent dates, had discharged itself into the great estuary of the Græco-Roman nations, entirely tolerant, entirely human, ready to absorb any foreign elements. Such a book as Virgil's "*Æneid*," the creation of that epoch, is the outcome of a lofty and refined religion. Plato and the Athenian dramatists, and Lucretius, and Cicero, left their immortal testimony as to the nature of the religious conceptions of their age: Sacrifice, Prophecy, Augury, Miracles, Theophanies, a World beyond the Grave, the Divine Voice in the Elements of Nature. In the "*Æneid*" alone, instances could be given of all these phenomena, the truth of which was meant to be believed, and was believed, because they represented the prevailing idea of the age, the human anticipation and the Divine possibilities. A great event was nigh at hand: the fourth Eclogue of Virgil reveals the expectation. Of the other dead religions only a faint tradition survived; but the Græco-Roman cult has left indelible traces of its existence in the pagan conceptions and rituals which have clung to the skirts of the new religious conception which succeeded it in Europe, and seem to have a power of endurance which no time will destroy. The taint of the neo-Platonic philosophy, and of the local Italian cults, though beautified under the title of mediæval Church-Order, is a real survival of Paganism and Judaism, as they existed previous to Anno Domini, and is very different from the precepts of the Galilean Teacher, and of Paul, his great interpreter, to the Græco-Latin nations.

With regard to the religious conceptions which still dominate the thought, in some cases of millions, in others of thousands, of the men of the nineteenth century, some more particular notice is required.

Concerning Brahmanism nothing can be more impressive than the deliberate opinion of a great Indian scholar, Bishop Caldwell (South India), in 1874: "I recognise also in

Hinduism a higher element, an element which I cannot "*but regard as divine*, struggling with what is earthly and "evil in it, and frequently overborne, though never entirely "destroyed. I trace the operation of this divine element in "the religiousness, the habit of seeing God in all things and "all things in God, which has formed so marked a character- "istic of the people of India during every period of their "history. I trace it in the conviction that there is a God, "however erroneously His attributes may be conceived, in or "through whom all things have their being; in the conviction "that a religion is possible, desirable, necessary; in the con- "viction that men are somehow separated from God, and "need somehow to be united to Him; but especially in the "idea, which I have found universally entertained, that a "remedy for the ills of life, an explanation of its difficulties "and mysteries, and an appointment of a system of means "for seeking God's favour, and rising to a higher life, that "is, a revelation, is to be expected; nay, more, that such a "revelation has been given, the only doubt being as to which "of the existing revelations is the true one, or the more "directly divine."

Not only was Brahmanism ever tolerant, or superbly regard- less, of external religious conceptions, or of internal sects, but it was sympathetic to the survivals of Nature-worship which dwelt in the villages, or on the flanks of the mountains; old shrines were allowed to exist; caste-distinction fenced off the ceremoniously unclean, but that was all. It looks as if this extreme tolerance had been the chief cause of the duration of this cult in ever-increasing numbers, for, in spite of itself, Brahmanism is the greatest proselytizing power in India; more of the non-Aryan barbarous tribes pass insensibly year by year into the lower grades of the great Brahmanical horde than all the converts to the other religious conceptions put together. It is possible to be admitted to become a Jew, or a Parsi, but not probable; but a process goes on of voluntary Brahmanizing of the non-Aryan tribes by a natural upward transition: no persuasion or invitation is required; no proselytizing in its usually understood sense, for they pass like the waters of a stream into a huge reservoir by their own impetus.

It must not be supposed, during the long, still centuries of Brahmanism, the oldest cult that the world has ever known, that no efforts have been made to rise into a higher life and purer air: on the contrary, the whole religious history of India is full of such attempts: a constant struggle for existence of a multitude of new, or the evolution of old, concep- tions, among which some are of the highest spiritual type.

Spiritually-minded men have from time to time arisen, like prophets, to reveal a new light, crying aloud for a great moral change, stirring the hearts of a great people; but there has been no continuance; it has been like the rising of the water, when the snow melts, as fertilizing, and as transitory. It marks, however, the heart's unrest, and the advance of men's consciousness of a great idea, not the dying out of a primeval revelation: it is the Soul of men, moved by the Eternal Spirit to seek out its Creator, the great fountain of its power. Ignorance, vice, carnality, priestcraft, and, in former periods, political violence, and fanatical intolerance, may press down the movement, but, if it finds space, freedom, and intellectual expanse, the same phenomena may be expected; and the modern sects, Brahmoism and the Arya-Somaj, are infinitely in advance, intellectually and spiritually, of the older sects of Kabîr and Baba Nanak.

A vast literature in the lordly language of Sanskrit has by good fortune survived to our age, representing every form of religious and philosophic literature, proving how high the human mind can wind itself by severe introspection, speculation on hidden truths, and a yearning after a higher life. Haughty Time has been just in sparing such gigantic monuments of intellectual power, spread over two thousand years, and transmitted orally from generation to generation until the germs of alphabetic writing were brought from Western Asia, and then developed by Indian grammarians to an extent unparalleled in any other country; while at the same time carved inscriptions on rocks, boulders, caves, and pillars, indicate the desire of those ancient men to communicate their ideas to after ages, a desire which has been fulfilled.

Very different has been the fate of Zoroastrianism: sprung from the same region as Brahmanism, and clothed in a sister Aryan language, or rather a succession of dialects of the same language, it assumed the name of a great lawgiver, whose date is uncertain. At its zenith it came into contact with Judaism, then in captivity in Babylon. It was the State-religion of Cyrus, and monotheistic, and tolerant, it imparted to Judaism certain religious conceptions. Its influence waned under the Greek and Roman domination of Asia, although it received a new life under a later Native dynasty, but centuries later it was driven out of the region where it had so long ruled, by a new religious conception, intolerant and propagandist: a small number of refugees escaped to India, where their descendants exist, thriving, respectable, intelligent; through them access has been obtained to their venerable literature, large portions of which, however, have perished. These facts have come like a revelation to

this generation : it is the opinion of competent scholars that Zoroaster lived at an epoch antecedent to Greek Philosophy ; that he was a great and deep thinker, who stood far above the most enlightened men of many subsequent centuries. Both Greek and Roman honoured him for the pre-eminence which he occupied in the history of the human intellect. We owe to this spiritual patriarch so large a portion of our intellectual inheritance, that we can hardly conceive what human belief would have been, had Zoroaster not spoken, or had his utterances not come down to our time. The earliest portions are the Gátha, the original hymns of Zoroaster, and his immediate associates and followers : their date is about 1500 B.C. to 1000 B.C., or possibly older. The remaining parts are of a much later date, at least 300 B.C. : spurious additions occur here and there. In these we find the doctrine, (1) that virtue is its own reward, and vice its own punishment ; (2) that there will be a personal resurrection, and a day of judgment beyond the grave ; (3) the existence of Angels, the personified thoughts of the Ruler of the World sent forth to ennoble, and redeem, His poor creatures.

In treating of the subject of Judaism, we must bear in mind, that for long centuries it had the monopoly in the minds of Europeans of the wisdom of the East, and of the centuries before the great Anno Domini : it has now been reduced to its proper position, as only one of the factors, although a most important factor, in the composition of the dominant religious conception of Europe. In a scientific discussion, Hebrew history and literary monuments must be weighed in the same scales, as those of the other great conceptions which preceded them, and with which they came in contact, *vis.*, the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Semitic, which are dead, and the Zoroastrian, which still survives. An importance, during the centuries of European ignorance, has been attributed to the Hebrews which they never deserved. Compare their tiny geographical area, and few millions of population, with India, or China : had they been geographically adjacent to India, they would never have been heard of : their sovereigns were never more than petty Rajahs, at the mercy of the Sovereign of the Basin of the Nile, or of the Euphrates : Mesopotamia and Egypt teem with memorials of past greatness ; so does the country of the Hittites : only one inscription is attributed to the Hebrews. Neither in arts, nor science, nor power, did they prevail. The Hebrew people never attained power among nations, or numerical influence : they have left behind no great monuments, or inscriptions, though they must have been aware that their neighbours, and occasional rulers, the Egyptians, the Assyrians,

the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, were doing so, even in their own Syrian land on the rocks of the River Adónis. So small is the geographical area assigned to the tribes of the Hebrews, that, when some years ago I stood upon Mount Gerizim, I could take in at one view the Mediterranean, Mount Hermon, the valley of the Jordan, and the mountains which surround the Dead Sea. I was fresh from the annexation of the Panjab, which is merely a province of British India; I had had to assist in dividing this new Province into eighteen manageable Districts, and had an eye for administrative requirements; and to my judgment the whole of the land of the Hebrews would barely make up two good-sized Indian districts: the country never could have supported a larger population than it does now. We thus see, in the category of dead, or surviving, religious conceptions, how comparatively small was the place occupied by the Hebrews: we have seen how it is credibly believed that the Hebrew borrowed somewhat from the Zoroastrian, but not one of the great conceptions before Anno Domini borrowed one idea from the Hebrew, or was even aware of its existence. According to the modern opinion of scientific students, both Jew and Gentile, the Hebrew literature came into existence in the period between the 9th and 5th century before Anno Domini, or even later: up to the 9th century the Hebrew was a monolatrism rather than a monotheism, for he seemed to admit the existence of other gods for other tribes, which no monotheist would admit for a moment: the linguistic vehicle of ideas, which the Hebrew writers had to make use of, was greatly inferior in capacity and symmetry to the wonderful forms of speech available to the Indian sages, and the Greek and Roman writers. No moral condemnation can be severer than that which their own Prophets poured upon the Hebrews. Finally, we have it from an authority which no one would willingly dispute, that, at the time of the Anno Domini, the spirituality of the Hebrew conception had all but disappeared, weighed down by empty ritual, and excessive self-conceit. No one can assert, that He who appeared at the time of the great Anno Domini, the Divine Wisdom, who had assisted in the Creation of the World, was ignorant of the existence of all these great religious conceptions, and of the fact that man had worshipped Him for centuries, feeling after God. We are bound to let our appreciation of divine things expand with our widening knowledge of God's dealings in times past. We were told that we should know hereafter, and we believe, in reverence, that a fuller consciousness has already been conceded.

It has been the great misfortune of Europe, that for seventeen centuries it had but one type presented to it of an ancient

religion which had lived its life before Anno Domini: one only volume was available in a Greek translation to the neo-Christians of an Asiatic conception of the relation betwixt God and man: Athenian philosophy had utterly destroyed the Græco-Roman conceptions, and mythology: the wisdom of Egypt was buried in its tombs, and of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor and Syria under the ruins of destroyed cities. In the time of Adrian, the Euphrates had become the limit, not only of the Empire, but of the historical and geographical knowledge of the Romans. Of the religious conceptions of Persia, except in the travestied form of Mithraism, of the utterances of the sages of India and China, they knew nothing. The volume of the Hebrews attributed to themselves not only God's *special*, but God's *sole* favour and guidance. The untold millions of Eastern Asia were ignored, out of deference to the assertions of a petty tribe of a few millions, unwarlike, ignorant of the science even of that age, by their own admission very disobedient to the laws of their own lawgivers, and the commands of their own Deity: a slave-nation, which had passed from the domination of the Egyptians into that of the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, leaving behind nothing but the library of thirty-nine books written in a language which had been even then dead for 500 years, and in a form of written character peculiar to itself, and adopted by no other nation. These books expose the utter weakness of their national character, the faultiness of their very idea of worship; for, following the example of the most degraded nations, they dishonoured the sacred body of man, made perfect by the hand of the Creator, by mutilation, a practice which the noble races of Europe, Persia, India and the extreme Orient would have scorned, and they rivalled their Gentile neighbours in placing their whole idea of worship in the slaughtering of dumb animals.

The eighth chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel, written about a century before the birth of Socrates, marks the existence, even after the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, of the most degraded possible form of worship, of creeping things, abominable beasts, and idols, portrayed on the walls, and therefore a deliberate worship: women weeping for Tammuz, and men worshipping the Sun. According to the notion of the Hebrew writers, and of many of later centuries, it was assumed that those who did not worship Jehovah, worshipped idols made by men's hands; that there was no *via media* of worshipping the Great God of the Universe in any other way, and under another name. King Cyrus was not an idolater: he worshipped one God, and identified Him with the God of the Hebrews: Was

he far wrong? Even in the books of Brahmanism there is always present the thought of the great Unrepresentable Deity, as well-described in a Sanskrit Poem :—

" Though of Thy might before man's wondering eyes,
 " The Earth, the Universe, in witness, rise,
 " Still by no human skill, nor mortal mind,
 " Can Thy Infinity be e'er defined."

With Buddhism we enter on a new religious epoch : the origin of the three former conceptions, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism, is shrouded in the dim uncertainty of the early centuries. Buddha was a contemporary, or nearly so, of Socrates : there was, about that period, a birth of intellectual giants, Socrates, and Pythagoras, Buddha, Kung-Fu-Tzee, and Laou-tzee : a period of transition had arrived. It must be recollected, that this religious conception is based upon the accumulated wisdom and speculation of Brahmanism. The story of the great sage is well-known, well-called "The Light of Asia," and so is the nature of his doctrines. Religion ceased now to be national, and became universal, and propagandist. By the irony of fate this conception was exiled from India, the place of its birth, and spread among non-Aryan races of Central and Eastern Asia : it has produced an enormous literature in several languages and dialects. Toleration is the very law of its life, and the followers of the two other propagandist religions of the world must admit in shame, that this tolerant and passive form of belief has at this day a larger number of nominal adherents, than their sword and their torture-chamber, their stake, and their civil disabilities, and confiscation of property, have been able to attain. On the other hand, deep degradation has accompanied its course. Agnosticism does not satisfy the craving of the human heart, especially in races of a low culture, and the Great Teacher has himself been elevated to the Throne which he had declared to be vacant ; the humblest, meekest, and most self-subdued of men has been converted into an object of worship, while round his gigantic statues a deep mist of pagan conceptions has collected.

A very competent authority writes, that, whatever may be the similarities in the Pali Buddhistic writings of an early date and the New Testament, there is not the slightest evidence, or reasonable probability, of any historical connection between them : if there be a resemblance, it is not due to any borrowing on the one side or the other, but solely to the similarity of the conditions, under which the two movements grew in an Asiatic people ; and, I may add, from that identity of thought and practice in the Genus Homo which is illustrated by the list of identical erroneous practices in all the early nations before

the great Anno Domini, when a new epoch was opened, and what was thought right and necessary, and expedient, and unavoidable, in the old environment, was proved to be merely old women's tales. Only imagine a European sovereign consulting an ephod, or asking the opinion of a soothsayer, or examining the entrails of an animal, before an expedition was settled upon.

Sometimes Jainism is mixed up with Buddhism, and sometimes blended with Brahmanism, from which it issued : it seems more convenient to treat it separately. Contemporary with the other great and wise men already named was Párasnath, the founder of the Jaina ascetics : the word means "Conqueror of lusts and desires." Two centuries later lived Mahavíra, who gave the conception, and the Brotherhood, its ultimate form : he, like Buddha, was of the royal caste : they both represented a rebellion against priestcraft and the Brahmins. In several features Jainism differs from Buddhism : it has never left India, and is still a *quasi*-sect. It has a form of worship : ineffable bliss is the goal of Jainism, not Nirvana : both lay stress on morality, charity, purity, patience, courage, contemplation, knowledge : both get rid of caste, and are atheistic. The Jaina number one-and-a-half million : they enjoin mercy to all animated beings, and place a cloth over their mouths to save the lives of insects : they have a considerable literature, and an order of priesthood.

The great religious conception of China is too well known to require much notice. It partakes more of the character of a social moral code than of a theology : the Emperor is the pinnacle of the edifice, the structure of which is for this world only. Kung-Fu-Tzee does not pretend to be a legislator, but a careful collector and codifier of existing precepts, which date back to a remote past. The literature is very extensive. Ancestral worship is a great feature : there is no Future, Purgatory, or Hell. The great founder never claimed to be more than a man ; but he felt that he had a superhuman mission, Goodness and happiness in this world was the object of his teaching : he died uttering no prayer, and evincing no apprehension : he was one of the greatest of men.

Taouism, the founder of which was Laou-tzee, a contemporary of Kung-Fu-Tzee, appears to have undergone a great degradation, for it is described to be at present a base and abject superstition, a foolish idolatry with an ignorant priesthood, commanding the respect of no one ; but at the epoch which is the subject of this paper, it is spoken of as a pure and lofty philosophy, a Road, and a Way, and the Right Path, in which men ought to go. Taou means Nature, and Taouism the philosophy of Nature.

The ancient cult of Japan is called Shinto: it is entirely national, and since 1868 has been the religion of the State: it is to a certain extent combined with Buddhism, which was introduced from China. Shinto is bound up with the social and political history of the nation.

It is a comfort to think, that none of the elder religious conceptions of the world were intolerant, or propagandist by the arm of the flesh, or were possessed with that evil and aggressive spirit which became the feature of the conceptions dating after the Anno Domini. They were national; and a victorious Sovereign attributed to his patron-Deity, whether Ashur, or Amen Ra, or Krishna, his victories: but neither was the conquering religion forced upon the conquered people, nor were the tribes who were deported by the conquerors into new localities, compelled to adopt the beliefs, or conform to the worship of their neighbours. The Hebrews were for several generations captive in Egypt, and for two generations captive in Babylonia, but their religion was not interfered with. The toleration of the Roman and Greek rulers may have been cynical indifference; or a superb contempt of any other religious conception but their own. It may be that a certain amount of healthy persecution raises up a stubborn resistance, and gives a new life to beliefs and practices which before were quietly dying out from being left alone; and this remark applies particularly to those religious conceptions that have not in them the power of expansion, and adaptation to the advancing age, for in truth religious conceptions, like all other things that are human, have their term of life assigned. Some, when they die, may have the germs of life transmitted to a younger kindred faith, though notably the Brahmanical and Jewish conceptions have lived on a long life after giving birth to new conceptions more powerful than themselves.

It raises a smile to remark that each nation, and the votaries of each religious conception, in good faith considered that they made up the Universe, and that God cared for them *only*. This was a notable characteristic of the Hebrews: the Greeks may have superbly classed outsiders as *βάρβαροι*, but the Asiatic nations applied to all others but themselves terms of reproach, such as "mleṭcha," "goi," "foreign devils," "accursed;" some went so far as to call themselves by the term "Men," "the men in particular." By a mere chance, and owing to the ignorance of Europe of the Asiatic world, the Hebrew phraseology, which was valued at its own worth by contemporary races, who used similar expressions, was taken by people, who lived centuries later, "au pied de lettre," and even as divinely inspired. Even still we read the phrase "all the world" applied to Syria by the Jews, and to the old Roman

Empire by the Romans, forgetting that India and the extreme Orient, which made up a moiety of the population of the Globe, sat apart, though they were far superior to any other nations in the history of mankind, until the great nations of Europe came into existence after the Anno Domini, superior in art, science, power, and population.

It is unwise to contract all possibilities of divine knowledge to one nation in antiquity, and that a very small one. This seems to be casting dishonour on the Ruler of the Universe. If doing so be the result of non-study of the subject, it may be called ignorance; if it be done in spite of conscientious study, it appears to be like a pious fraud. It looks, as if the Divine Power which created and ruled the World, was pleased to reveal some of His most important truths to the followers of different religious conceptions. How the exclusion of so large a part of a great subject narrows the field of view of later writers! If Augustine of Hippo had had on his table a copy of the *Triptika*, of the *Bhāgavad-Gita*, of the *Shu-King*, and of the *Yasna*, he might have expressed himself differently.

The whole intellectual atmosphere has changed, and the childish conceptions of a credulous and ignorant age will not stand the strong light of modern discussion: we have only to imagine a Jew sacrificing an animal in a London synagogue: if an educated Hindu at one of the State Colleges were asked by a Mahometan, or a Christian friend, to describe the belief and ritual of his family, he would fairly break down, and be ashamed to talk about his family-worship. If an English Jew at a public school were pressed on the subject of his circumcision, he would feel as ashamed as an educated African would be of his tattoo-marks, or a Polynesian who had had his teeth drawn in his childhood. The mutilation, or disfigurement of the body marks the low-water mark of religious degradation.

It is interesting to consider the different classes into which the religious conceptions may be divided with reference to their salient features, or the characteristics of their adherents. Poor weak mortality is certain to fall into excess on one side or the other. We find some good people, like the Jaina, who would not kill a fly even by chance: others have in times past offered human sacrifices: some have no Deities to make offering to: some have a plurality of objects of worship: some do not pray at all, having nothing to ask, and no Deity to ask it of: some arrange that the flowing stream should turn round a wheel of meaningless prayer: others pay hireling priests to do the work for them in unintelligible sing-song ritual. It is the fashion, as stated above, to call all the ancient religions of the world, save the Hebrew, idolatrous; but this is not true for some, and it was not so for many more in their inception.

The Brahmanical, and Græco-Roman systems were always so ; the Zoroastrian never was idolatrous, and the few survivors to this day are not so ; Buddhism and Confucianism were not so in starting, but in their deep degradation, they have fallen to that low level. Some have domineering priesthoods like the Brahmins and the Jewish priests ; some have none.

To some the idea of proselytizing never occurred, and any idea of forcible proselytism, by intolerance, or imposing disabilities, was, in ancient days, rare. We find these subdivisions :—

- I. Where Proselytism is involuntary, as in the case with Brahmanism, which admits annually hundreds of the lower non-Aryan tribes into its fold, as it were, unconsciously.
 - II. Where Proselytism is permissive. Judaism did admit proselytes in a regular way, and does so still.
 - III. Where Proselytism is a duty and obligation, either by argument, or the arm of the flesh. Buddhism and Jainism represent the former of the two alternatives.
 - .. Judaism during its last decade compelled the conquered tribes of Edom, Ammon and Moab to be circumcised.
- Another variety is the nature of the Religious Belief :—
- I. Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, and Judaism were natural systems, with a formula of faith, a fixed ritual, and sacred books.
 - II. Confucianism was merely a code of social and political morality.
 - III. Towards the close of the Græco-Roman system, philosophy, taught in schools, was taking the place of ritual or belief.
 - IV. Buddhism was simply atheism.

Another division may be made as follows :—

- I. Positive Religions, based on the teaching of particular individuals, who deliberately departed from a traditional past, such as Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism : in some cases the teacher only codified and re-arranged existing conceptions, such as Confucianism, Taoism.
- II. Traditional Religions, which cannot be traced back to individual founders, and were not propagated by individual authority, as they formed part of the unconscious inheritance of the past.

The Positive Religions of the ancient world did not make their appearance, like a new idea, but they were rather organized developments of a pre-existing religion : old religious instincts had to be appealed to ; even old forms, transmuted and re-named, had to be adopted. A Positive Religion will not be fully understood until the traditional religion which

preceded it, has been studied, as far as materials for study survive. There is some analogy in language: some languages have died absolutely sterile, and so have some religious conceptions. The Egyptian religion and language present a case in point. Some languages have given birth to new languages.

A common feature is found in these early conceptions: they had no creed: they consisted entirely of institutions, and practices. Ritual was the sum-total of such religions, part of their social life, to which each member of the community conformed, as he would do to any other social habit. Men took their religion, just as their form of Government, for granted: they were neither bound to understand, nor did they dare to criticize. They had no choice in the selection, and no will to change: it was part of their outfit in life. As time went on from generation to generation, there were changes in the environment, social habits, language, and religious conception, and they were, without murmuring, conformed to, until the end came.

Another feature soon forces itself upon notice. Religion did not exist for the saving of individual souls, for purifying individual hearts, or making the worshipper more fit for the final change: it existed solely for the preservation, and welfare, of society: it was allied to patriotism, chauvinism, struggles for civil independence, and battles "*pro aris et focis*." One nation was not in the least degree jealous of, or hostile to, the gods of another nation, so long as they did not interfere with each other. No gods were deemed to be all-powerful and ubiquitous: they had to attend to their own worshippers, to whose families they belonged, and who fed and kept them. Even when one religion appeared with a loftier conception, the existence of other gods was not denied.

Certain features appear in all religious conceptions: some in one; some in another; some in all; some at one period of their existence; some at another; varying in their details and nomenclature, but substantially the same. They are as follows:—

- I. Anthropomorphism of the Deity, Polytheism.
- II. Residence of the Deity in the midst of his worshippers
- III. Theophanies, Visions, Good and Evil Spirits.
- IV. Primeval worship of Animals, Heroes, Totems, and Fetish.
- V. Ancestral, Domestic, National Worship.
- VI. Shrines, Relics, Pilgrimages.
- VII. Sacrifices: Animal, Vegetable, Human.
- VIII. Formal Prayer: oral, by deputy, or by machinery.

- IX. Empty Ritual : Bells, Music, Dancing, Processions, Incense.
- X. Priestcraft, Sacerdotalism, Usurpation of Power.
- XI. Ceremonial Cleanness, or Uncleanness.
- XII. Fasting, Celibacy, Asceticism, Eremitism.
- XIII. Days of Rest, Feasts.
- XIV. Esoteric, and Exoteric Doctrine.
- XV. Miracles : Beneficent, Malevolent.
- XVI. Dreams, Auguries, Predictions, Ordeals.
- XVII. National Sins, Hostility of Deities.
- XVIII. Signs from Heaven.
- XIX. Witchcraft : possession by Evil Spirits.
- XX. Different modes of disposing of dead.
- XXI. Notions of Eschatology and Judgment after death.
- XXII. Mutilation of body, tattoo-marks, caste-marks, circumcision.
- XXIII. Abominable customs.
- XXIV. Conception of Fate, Divine vengeance.
- XXV. Records written on various materials, stones carved in relief.
- XXVI. Tradition.
- XXVII. Sanctitude of certain offices, secular and religious.
- XXVIII. Necessity of Good Works.
- XXIX. Absence of Spirituality.
- XXX. Religious Architecture, Sculpture, Literature, Monuments.

CONCLUSION.

Emerson remarks that the systematic translation of the sacred books of the East would play a part in the reorganization of religious thought, which is marked by a desire to soften the lines of demarkation, to recognize in all religions the elements of truth, and to assign to each *its own position* in the education of the human mind.

We can trace in history this great fact, that a portion of the primeval inheritance, intellectual and spiritual, of mankind, of whatever race, physical conformation, or colour, language or culture, was committed to different contemporary, or, succeeding nations. In every attempt to enlarge the faculties, utilize the resources, or enlarge the ideas, the religious sense must have a share, and a leading share. It is difficult to imagine how the progress of human life can be measured except by the birth, development, decay and disappearance of religious conceptions. To language, and to religion, a limitation seems to be imposed, as to the trees of a forest; in due course they must give away to more

vigorous successors, but both language and religion leave their mark : there is no retrogression in this struggle : an advance must be made, and both these special outfits of man to enable him to carry on his intercourse with the world in the former case, and with the Ruler of the universe in the latter, must be up to the level of contemporary human development.

Writing with philosophical boldness, free from all sentimental pre-conceptions, and the narrow fetters of the Schoolmen, on a question open to discussion on sure historical evidence, I cannot but feel, that all these phenomena were messages to the human races, black, brown, red, yellow and white, creatures differentiated from the brute creatures by standing upright (*ἄνθρωπος*) and the gift of articulate speech (*λόλος*), or in other words that they were different representative aspects of Self, the World, and God. They evidence the aspirations and wants of the Genus Homo, voiced by some of the great moral heroes, who appeared at intervals, and uttered words which were never forgotten, regarding ourselves, our neighbours, our God. In former centuries we were imperfectly supplied with facts. We were over-credulous on one side, and unduly doubtful on the other. We now see clearly, that through all the ages, one increasing purpose runs ; that God was present, working with man, at all periods of his existence : here a little, there a little, but always a step in advance. As the varying features which appear in all religions, tell us that we are all men and brothers, however physically differentiated, so the continuous existence of the same silent, yet unchanging, purpose brings home the conviction, that we are all of the same clay in the hands of the same Potter, being trained, that we may haply be deemed worthy to be called the sons of God.

Is there no alternative ? There are two : I must really dismiss the first, *vis.*, that all the races of mankind before Anno Domini passed over the mortal stage into everlasting torment, according to the complacent suggestion of the Hebrew Psalmist, ix. 17 : "The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the nations that forget 'God.'" There may be some who, in a general way, hold these views still. No hard words are admissible in this paper, so I am silent.

The second view is held by 'good,' benevolent, but ignorant men, that somehow or other the great nations of antiquity did get along, did found empires, build temples, put up inscriptions which survive to our time, painted or carved in relief pictures which we can see, wrote documents which through a succession of copies have come down to our time, and are intelligible. These predecessors of ours in the dominion of the world clearly were great, powerful, and learned, were able to pile up pyramids in one country, carve temples out of rocks

in another, and their tablets and inscriptions bear witness to the fact that they wished their memory to live to after ages. As we walk down the museum, and contemplate these interesting pictures, or inspect their stone, brick, papyrus, or parchment documents, we are struck that they all seem to have been actuated by the same or similar feelings, very much akin, if not identical, and what we moderns call a religious feeling; they all were what Paul at Athens called "*θεοσιδαίμονες*:" Kings are portrayed as worshipping a power greater than themselves, thanking it for their victories and their wealth, supplicating its protection. Again the still small voice is heard in inscriptions on rocks in languages, and written characters only painfully deciphered in modern times, preaching love to fellow-creatures, mercy to man and beast, tolerance on subjects of religion. We recognize that these far-off predecessors of ours were men, men in spite of all the difference of time, locality and environment, hoping, desiring, fearing, asking for, the same things, and of the same ineffable Person. Are we to believe that the Ruler of Mankind, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, so full of kindness, and mercy, and love to all His poor creatures, cared nothing for these untold millions, these uncircumcised Gentiles, left them alone to their devices, that His Holy Spirit did not speak to their consciences, did not respond to their prayers, and that He reserved all His love for the few sheep of the Hebrew race until the great Anno Domini, after which date He began to care for all his poor children, without distinction of colour or race. We are told distinctly that He loved the world from the beginning.

God's wheels grind slowly, but very fine. Does not the slow development of religious conceptions give us an idea of the inexhaustible patience and long-suffering of the Ruler of the Universe? now in one direction, now in another: failures, as well as successes: exhibition of the loftiest intellectual powers in conception, and the most abject degradation in practice. If man could have by himself trampled over the weakness inherent in his nature, Buddha would have done so. If respect for ancestors and social duties were sufficient for salvation, Kung-Fu-Tzee has elaborated such a system, which has lasted nearly 3,000 years. If Heaven could be taken by violence, the composer of the Bhāgavad-Gītā, the *Θεσπίσιος μέλος*, the Divinum Carmen of the Sāṅkhya School, though his name has not come down to us, might have been admitted. If not a sparrow falls and is forgotten before God, we may humbly think that Socrates, son of Sophoniscus, did not nobly live, and nobly die, without filling up some part of the Divine Plan, as an example to future ages. Those ancient sages, who were led on by the *Πνεῦμα* that was in them, to elaborate

the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Brahmanical systems (before Abraham was, they were), were not children building card-houses, or constructing edifices on the sand, which the next flood would sweep away. The human Empires, of which they formed a part, have long since been destroyed, and are all but forgotten, but their conceptions, whether committed to papyrus and buried in a tomb, or entrusted to baked bricks, or carved on stone, or handed down by a succession of repeaters by memory, until the time came when an alphabetic system enabled them to be written on perishable parchments, or the talipat leaf, will live on for ever. They were seekers after God, if haply they could find Him, and the Holy Spirit spoke to their consciences, dividing the good from the evil, realizing the burning words of a poet who lived and died before the great Anno Domini :—

Confringere ut arcta
Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.
Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
Processit longe flammania mœnia Mundi,
Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque.

—*Lucretius*, l. 73.

ART. VI.—THE GERMAN CODE OF JUDICIAL ORGANISATION.

(Independent Section.)

(Continued from October 1894, No. 198.)

PUBLICITY OF THE TRIAL AND PRESERVATION OF ORDER.

THE trial is public; but in cases relating to marriage (*ehesachen*) the doors can be closed on the demand of either party. In all cases the Court can order that the trial shall take place wholly or partly with closed doors, if publicity is calculated to be dangerous to public order or morality. In the statement of "Objects and Reasons" the offence of false coin is mentioned as one the public trial of which would be dangerous to public order. In all cases the judgment must be pronounced in public (Art. 174). The project of the law allowed the judgment also to be pronounced with closed doors; it was considered that the publicity of the judgment in crimes against morality would not only harm the reputation of the victim, but offend public modesty by its narration of necessary details. However, these considerations did not appear to Parliament to be strong enough to suppress the guarantee of publicity.

Access to the Court may be forbidden to children, persons not in the enjoyment of civic rights, or coming in a state not befitting the dignity of a Court of Justice. Under the last category have been held to fall persons in a state of intoxication, or indecently dressed, or accompanied by animals. The President may authorise the presence of certain persons during a trial with closed doors. But even advocates (when not engaged in the case) have no right to appear.

What is known as the "police" of the sitting, that is, the preservation of order, is in the hands of the President. He can expel, and even confine for 24 hours, any person causing interruption or disturbance, whether by noise, insult, marks of approbation or disapprobation, &c. If necessary, he can also impose a sentence of 100 marks' fine or three days' imprisonment (without prejudice to a criminal prosecution). Advocates not engaged in the case are subject to these provisions; if engaged in the case, they can be fined 100 marks, but cannot be expelled from the Court. If they persist in a defiant or insulting attitude, the President may inflict the fine several times, and as a last resort, can stop the trial. In this case the costs of the postponement are borne by the offending

advocate.* All these orders are forthwith executed. Judges making inquiries, *Juges d'instruction* and Judges of the Bailiwick sitting alone, have the same powers. It was proposed to give the Court similar powers over the Public Prosecutor engaged in the case, but the proposal was not adopted. The Public Prosecution Department is independent; he does not occupy an inferior situation, but has a co-ordinate (*koordiniert*) authority with the Court; if he offends, he can be punished only by his departmental superiors.

The judicial language is German, though there are many different foreign languages in use in the German Empire,—Bohemian, Danish, French, Lithuanian, Polish, Wallon and Wende. If the parties do not understand German, an interpreter is appointed, who takes an oath to translate faithfully and conscientiously.†

Judges, Assessors and Juries are bound to keep their deliberations and votes secret. If Judges violate this rule, they expose themselves to disciplinary punishments.

The judicial year corresponds with the calendar year. There is one vacation, lasting from the 15th July to the 15th August, with a few recognized holidays, such as Christmas and Easter Monday.‡ Vacation Benches sit to dispose of criminal cases, and certain other urgent cases. Moreover, execution and bankruptcy proceedings are not suspended.

CONCILIATION AUTHORITIES.

Besides the ordinary Courts, there is a special institution which the Code has not organised, but which is found in the judicial law of all the confederated States, and which often plays an important part in the administration of justice, namely, the authorities of conciliation (*Vergleichsbehörde*).

The conciliation procedure, as an *obligatory* preliminary to the institution of an action, does not exist in German law in civil matters. Art. 47^r of the Code of Civil Procedure merely *permits* the claimant to call his adversary to an arbitration before the Judge of the Bailiwick. But such arbitration is rare and difficult; the Judge being often too far from the parties and too much above them in rank and situation. On the other hand, by a happy innovation, Art. 420 of the Code of Criminal Procedure introduces arbitration in criminal matters, and

* Code Crim. Proc., Art 145; Code Civ. Proc., Art. 97.

† Perjury on the part of an interpreter is punishable with a maximum of ten years' imprisonment with hard labour.—Arts. 153-158, Penal Code.

‡ This is a striking contrast to the long holidays enjoyed by the High Courts and Civil Courts in India. Considering that the Executive Service is notoriously harder worked than the Civil Courts, it is very anomalous that they should have fewer holidays.

makes it obligatory in cases of hurt and slander, which are prosecuted at the instance of a civil party. In these cases an attempt at amicable settlement *must* precede the citation before the Court of Assessors.

All the States have instituted an authority, specially charged with amicable settlement: some for criminal matters only, others for civil as well. This authority is called arbiter (*schiedemann*) in Prussia and six other States; in Saxony and few other States he is known as Judge of the Peace (*Friedensrichter*). In the other States, an administrative or judicial officer is charged with this duty.

The conciliation officer is everywhere in close *rapprochement* with the people, his functions are gratuitous, and no costs are incurred; this is in all States the indispensable condition of the efficacy of his intervention. An auxiliary of justice in each commune, known by the residents and chosen by them, the arbiter, performing an act of disinterested duty, has a great personal influence, and his authority, superior to that of the Judge, can to a great extent diminish litigation and ensure reconciliation.* A register of conciliations is kept; the parties must appear in person, and the party who does not appear in a civil matter can be fined from 50 pfennigs to a mark. In criminal matters, the accused, who does not appear, is presumed to be unwilling to settle, and the complainant is given a certificate of non-conciliation. There are no costs, but a minimum fee of 25 pfennigs (at 10 pfennigs a paper) is taken to cover the actual costs of the procedure. There is one arbiter, at least, in each commune, and two or more in large communes, according to population. They are generally selected by the Municipal Committee, or Mayor, and in most States the selection must be approved by the President, or the Presidium of the District Court. Every citizen, domiciled in the commune, and over 30 years of age, is eligible to act as arbiter. The function is honorific, and cannot be refused, except by persons over 60 years of age, or for some valid excuse accepted by the Municipal Committee. A person who refuses can be deprived of his eligibility for Municipal posts for a period of from three to six years; and in Prussia he can also be made to pay from 12½ to 25 per cent. more than the ordinary communal taxes. Before entering on their duties, the arbiters take an oath before the Judge of the Bailiwick. They can be suspended from their functions by the District Court. The arbiter sends to the Judge of the Bailiwick at the commencement of each year a statement

* Collectors and Sub-divisional Officers in India often play the part of conciliation officers. That their efforts are not more often successful, is due, *inter alia*, to the unreasoning jealousy of the Civil Service, and to the fact that their success would take bread out of the mouths of the lawyers.

showing the number of conciliations effected during the preceding year. The Judge of the Bailiwick forwards these statements to the President of the District Court, who in his turn transmits all such statements for his jurisdiction to the First President of the Superior Court.

During the year 1883 there were in Prussia 17,992 arbiters ; 66,438 civil and 206,000 criminal matters* were taken before them, and they managed to effect a settlement or conciliation in 38,132 and 80,318 cases, respectively ; that is, in 57 per cent. of civil cases, and 38 per cent. of criminal cases. Each arbiter settled on an average 3·75 civil matters and 11·50 criminal matters.

THE DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC PROSECUTORS.*

There is a Public Prosecution Office attached to every Court. Its officers, as in France, are the agents of the executive Power and the representatives of the State ; they are immediately under the Government. The Prosecutor attached to a Superior or District Court is called *Staatsanwalt* ; if attached to a Court of the Bailiwick, he is called *amtsanwalt* (Art. 143). The Minister of Justice is the Supreme Head of the Department.

Only officers, who have the judicial capacity required for Judges, can be attached as Public Prosecutors to the Court of the Empire, the Superior Courts and to the District Courts. All Prosecutors are subject to the control and direction of their immediate official chief, and must take action under his orders. The rule of ancient French law "*si la plume est servie, la parole est libre*," has not penetrated into German law. An amendment had proposed to give prosecutors independence at the hearing, but it was rejected, and the principle of absolute dependence affirmed (Art. 147). Those who advocated the amendment admitted that it could not be left to any subordinate member of the Department to decide whether the public action should be instituted, and that the Head of the Department should have the final say, but they urged that the case might assume a new phase at the trial, and the Prosecutor in Court should then consult only his conviction and his conscience, and it would be scandalous to make him support conclusions in which he could not agree. On the other hand, it was argued that grave questions of law could not be left to the varying opinions of members of the Bar (department) ; the personal conviction of the Prosecutor was already sacrificed when he was ordered by his chief to prosecute against his own recommendation, and such sacrifice was necessary to secure the unity and strength of the public action ; the Prosecutor might

* *Staatsanwaltschaft ; Ministère Public.*

modify the instructions received, if the evidence at the trial justified his doing so.

The Prosecutor at the Bailiwick Court is generally a Police or administrative officer, and no particular condition of capacity is ordinarily required; but in some States he must have passed the first judicial examination.

The State Prosecutors are not Magistrates; they are not immoveable. It was considered dangerous, while arming them with the public action, to give them absolute independence, and so in a manner place them above the State whose agents they are. It is essential to be able to take away from them, in case of necessity, the formidable power confided to them. They are, however, not liable to arbitrary dismissal, having exactly the same rights and guarantees as State officials. If they are deprived of their functions, they continue to draw a certain proportion of their salary, varying in different States.

The duties of Public Prosecutors are almost entirely confined to criminal justice. They exercise their functions throughout the resort of the Court to which they are attached. The Prosecutor attached to the District Court is the principal representative of the Department. He is assisted, in the exercise of his functions, by a judicial police, who are bound to obey his orders. They consist of Police Commissaries and Inspectors, Mayors, gendarmes, fishery and forest guards, the Prosecutors of the Bailiwick in cases not within the competence of the Courts of assessors, bailiffs in case of domiciliary visits, arrest, &c.

The Prosecutor attached to the Court of the Empire is termed the Superior Prosecutor of the Empire (*Oberreichsanwalt*). He institutes the public action in cases triable by the Court of the Empire in its original jurisdiction, that is to say, in cases of treason. He also decides conflicts of competence arising between the Bars of the different States. If he is compelled to retire from his post, he retains three-fourths of his active salary (Arts. 148-150).

ADVOCATES AND ATTORNEYS.

The draft of the Code of Judicial Organisation had contained a title dealing with advocates, but it was withdrawn in Parliament. The German Bar is regulated by the Federal Law of the 1st July, 1878.

The German barrister is both attorney and advocate (*Rechtsanwalt*). The two professions, distinct in England and France, are united in Germany. Before the Court of the Bailiwick there is no particular procedure, and the parties appear in person; but in the District and Superior Courts they must be represented by advocates. They can act as attorneys only in the Courts in which they are enrolled; as advocates they can

plead in all Courts. The Federal Law of the 7th July, 1879, fixes their fees and honoraria.

The conditions of admission to the Bar are exactly the same as those required for the Magistracy. The advocate must pass the same examinations and undergo the same course of training. Admission is granted by the Minister of Justice, or by the Superior Judicial Administration, on the report of the Council of the Order of Advocates. Admission must be refused in certain cases, among them being the exercise of a profession incompatible with the functions or dignity of an advocate, bad conduct, physical or intellectual infirmities. It can be refused if the candidate does not ask for admission within three years from the date of his passing the last examination, if he has been previously excluded for a time from the exercise of the public functions, or if he has, as an advocate, in the two last years of his probation, incurred a reprimand or been sentenced to a disciplinary fine of more than 150 marks.

The Bar is free, but at the same time it is localised. Enrolment in a particular Court can only be refused if the applicant is related to one of the Judges of the Court in a direct line, or up to the second degree in the collateral line.* The advocate has to take an oath publicly in the Court in which he is enrolled. There is not, as in France, a distinct Bar for each Court. The advocates enrolled in all the Courts within the ressort of a Superior Court form a single order, or "Chamber of Advocates" (*Anwalts kammer*), and consequently the number of Bars is equal to that of the Superior Courts. There are 28 for the whole of Germany.

The advocates of each Bar elect for four years a Council (*Vorstand*) of from 9 to 15 members. This Council is charged with the administration and supervision of the Order of Advocates and Discipline. Its decisions are appealable to the Superior Court. The advocate who fails in his duties, is prosecuted in a disciplinary manner. The Disciplinary Court is composed of five members: the President, the Vice-President and three members of the Council chosen by the entire Council. The Senior Government Prosecutor prosecutes; but the proceedings are not public. The punishments are warning, reprimand, fine up to 3,000 marks, and suspension. Review is carried before the Superior Court, and an appeal lies to the Disciplinary Court (*Ehrengerichtshof*), which is composed of the First President, and of three Judges of the Court of the Empire, chosen by the Presidium, and of three advocates

* The French law of the 30th August, 1853, attains the same end in a different way. It declares null every decision passed by a Judge who is related to the advocate up to the 3rd degree.

attached to the Court of the Empire, chosen each year by the Bar of such Court. These rules are also applicable to advocates practising before the Court of the Empire. These do not form an open Bar ; admission is granted by the Presidium of the Court, who may refuse it.

There are 4,393 advocates in Germany : 20 are attached to the Court of the Empire, 718 are enrolled in the Superior Courts, 3,722 in the District Courts, and 463 in the Bailiwick Courts. Of this number 530 are enrolled both before a Superior and a District Court. There is one advocate for every 10,417 of the population, the ratio varying from 1 for 3,178 inhabitants in Lubeck to 1 for 26,111 in Alsace. The ratio in Prussia is 1 for 12,211 inhabitants.

The number of advocates attached to each Bar varies from 16 in Oldenburg to 369 in Berlin and 516 in Dresden. Of the 1,914 Bailiwick Courts, 907 have advocates, and the remainder none.

CLERKS.

There is a Bench Clerk Department (*Gerichtsschreiberei*) attached to each Court with Bench Clerks (*Gerichtsschreiber*) and other inferior officers to assist the Judges. The functions of the clerks, and the part they play in the judicial mechanism, are laid down in the Codes of Civil and Criminal Procedure.

In all Courts, civil as well as criminal, the clerk is the witness of justice ; he must be present at all the various and numerous acts of judicial life, and duly enter them on the record. He assists at the hearing, prepares a memorandum of the course of the trial, records the incidents which occur, the depositions, and the decisions given by the Court. He also assists at all acts of criminal inquiries and investigations. He is in charge of the process department, and carries out the orders of the Court. He receives the memorials of appeal, revision or review, and he prepares an account of the costs. Special laws extend his functions ; for instance, he assists the Judge of the Bailiwick in dispensing voluntary justice. He prepares the judicial statistics, and is charged with the custody and preservation of records.

The German Bench Clerk is a functionary of the State, and not, like the *greffier* in France, a ministerial officer with a proprietary right in his office. In the Bailiwick and District Courts he gets a salary of 2,625 rising to 4,125 francs per annum by quinquennial increments of 225 francs ; in the Superior Courts the salary is 2,625 to 5,250 francs ; and in the Court of the Empire 3,750 to 6,750 francs. They also generally get, like all functionaries, a house allowance. In all the States the conditions of capacity are rigorous, and everywhere a period of probation and examination must be undergone. It is also necessary to have completed 21 years, and to have satisfied the

obligations of military service. * The probation lasts two years, of which one year must be passed in a Bailiwick Court, four months in the office of a District Court, four months in the Department of State Prosecutors, and four months with a Taxing Officer (*Revisor*). The candidate is placed under a particular Bench Clerk, whose duty it is to teach and supervise him. In the matter of appointments, special consideration is shown to old soldiers, who return to civil life, and a certain number of posts is reserved for sub-officers who have served 12 years, soldiers who have served 18 years, and invalid sub-officers and soldiers. Half the total number of Assistant Bench Clerkships is reserved for them, provided they undergo the preparatory stage and examination.

The Bench Clerk Department also comprises other offices (*Kanzlei*), a Copying Department, and a Classification of Records Department. The minimum period for which records are preserved is 5 years, and the maximum 50 and even 100 years. They are then destroyed, with the exception of documents which have an historic interest, and which are placed in the State archives. Copyists are paid 5, 6 or 7 pfennigs (as the President may direct) per page of 20 lines of 12 words each.*

The Bench Clerks and other office employes seem to be under a pretty severe discipline. The office hours are from 8 A.M. to 3 P.M., and one Bench Clerk must be present for urgent business from 3 to 6 P.M., and also on holidays from 11 A.M. to 1 P.M.

APPOINTMENT, TITLE, AND RANK OF MAGISTRATES.

The town of Bremen is the only German State which has confided the appointment of its Magistrates to an elective system ; in all other States the Sovereign appoints. But even in Bremen the members of the Public Prosecution Department are appointed by the Senate.

It has been shown above that the two examinations and the preparatory stage are a sufficient guarantee for the capacity of Judges. Beyond these no other condition is necessary either for first appointment or for promotion. The only exception is that persons related within certain degrees cannot belong to the same tribunal ; and in Bavaria even this exception ceases to apply if the tribunal is composed of more than ten Judges. The Judges of the Court of the Empire are appointed by the Emperor on the nomination of the Federal Council ; they must have acquired judicial experience in one of the German States, and have completed their 35th year. This is the only case in which any age limit is necessary.

* 1 pfennig = 1 penny. In Bengal an English copyist gets 2 annas per folio of 25 lines of six words each.

There are 7,582 Magistrates of the Judicial Service (Presidents, Councillors, and Judges) for the whole of Germany. Adding 382 Commercial Judges, the total comes to 7,964.

The Judges of the Superior Courts bear the title of Councillor (*Rath*). The Judges of the District Court are called Councillors in some States and Judges in others. In Prussia and six other States, they bear the title of Judge, but the title of Councillor can be accorded by the Sovereign as a personal distinction and as a reward for services rendered. This is a sort of promotion which serves to excite zeal; being reserved as a reward for exceptional merit, it affords a sufficient satisfaction to the legitimate desire for advancement. The Judges of the Courts of the Bailiwick (*Amtsrichter*) can, as a reward for good service, receive a personal title of Councillor of the Court of the Bailiwick (*Amtsgerichtsrath*), or in some States Superior Judge of the Bailiwick (*Oberamtsrichter*).

Each class of Magistrates is ranked along with other State functionaries in an official precedence list. In Prussia, the First Presidents of the Superior Courts belong to the second class of high functionaries; the Presidents of Chambers, the Prosecutors at the Superior Courts, and the Presidents of the District Courts, to the third class; the Councillors of Superior Courts, the Vice-Presidents of District Courts, the Councillors of District and Bailiwick Courts, the Chief State Prosecutors, to the fourth class; State Prosecutors and District and Bailiwick Judges to the fifth class.

THE JUDICIAL OATH.

All Magistrates, Judges, Commercial Judges, Crown Prosecutors, and Bench take an oath on the assumption of their functions. With the exception of the Hanseatic Towns, where it is professional, the oath is everywhere political, and contains a promise of fidelity to the Sovereign. In most States the oath taken by Judges is the same as that taken by State functionaries. In Bavaria and six other States there is a special oath: "To perform the duties of Judge with all the strength of my mind and my conscience, with care and zeal; not to favour either party, or to assist either with advice; not to receive directly or indirectly any present or promise; never to act from hatred, favour, fear, consideration of persons or other motives; but in all my judicial acts, to keep only before my eyes God, the law, justice, and truth." The ordinary oath is that taken in Prussia: "In the name of the All-powerful God, who knows all, I swear to His Majesty the King of Prussia, my gracious master, submission, fidelity, and obedience; I swear to perform all the duties of my charge with all the strength of my mind and my conscience; and to observe faithfully the Constitution, as true as I hope for God's assistance."

SUPERVISION AND DIRECTION.

The Minister of Justice is the Chief of the Magistracy. He exercises a general supervision and superior direction and control over all Courts and all Crown Advocates. The same power belongs to the First President of the Superior Court over the Superior Court, the District and Bailiwick Courts ; to the President of the District Court over such Court and the Bailiwick Courts within its resort ; to the Superior State Prosecutor over his Bar and the members of the Crown Prosecution Department within his jurisdiction, and so on.

The right of supervision (*aufsichtsrecht*) comprises the right to call for registers and records, to demand explanations, to watch over the despatch of business, the behaviour and conduct of the Magistrates and Officers of the Court, and to prescribe all measures necessary to secure the proper performance of the work to be done.

The supervision of Courts is carried out by means of regular inspections. In this way the Chief of the Courts and State Bars, seeing the Magistrates at work, acquire a more exact knowledge of its personal value, and of the conditions under which justice is administered. The President of the Superior Court (either himself or by a President of a Chamber) must inspect the District Courts. The President of the District Court must inspect every Court of the Bailiwick—once every four years in Prussia, once every three years in Bavaria. So the Chief State Prosecutor inspects his subordinates at the District and Bailiwick Courts.

In Bavaria there are some elaborate rules regulating the supervision of the judicial *personnel*. For instance, the President of each Court, or the Judge of the Bailiwick charged with the direction of business, keeps a record (*Personalakt*) concerning each Judge of the Court, containing all particulars of age, family, religion, fortune, number of children, &c.; also dates of passing examinations and probationary stage, and particulars of service and appointments, distinctions won and punishments undergone. The records or character rolls of Public Prosecutors are kept by their superiors. Moreover, all Magistrates, State Prosecutors, and Bench Clerks are subjected to a personal and periodical inspection (*qualifikation*), with the object of informing the Minister of their services. The inspection relates to the capacity, conduct and zeal of the Magistrate, and even to his health ; and is made with the aid of the information collected by the Presidents in the Courts of their inspections of Courts, and by means of the reports of the Chiefs of Departments. The results of the "qualification" are entered in the record and sent to the Magistrate's superiors and to the Minister.

Judicial statistics are regularly prepared. The Bailiwick Judges send annual returns of the cases tried in their Courts to the District Court; the President of the District Court tabulates for all the Bailiwick Courts under him, and submits to the First President of the Superior Court, who in his turn submits to the Minister of Justice.

Magistrates, as well as the members of the Crown Prosecution Department, are functionaries of the State. They have the same rights and duties, and are submitted to the same discipline. For instance, they cannot marry without permission. This provision, which appears to be harsh, is aimed at preventing unworthy alliances, which, while lowering the person of the Magistrate, constitute an attack on justice itself. Judges, members of the Crown Law Department, and Bench Clerks are also forbidden, without the permission of the Minister of Justice, to take any part in the administration or supervision of a financial or commercial society, and such permission must be refused, if a remuneration is given under any form whatsoever. Nor can they take leave without permission. Such permission is accorded, according to circumstances and the length of the leave wanted, by the Chief of the Court, or by the Minister of Justice. Absence without leave entails forfeiture of half pay during the period of absence.

EXPENSES OF JUSTICE.

In Prussia the ordinary budget of the Minister of Justice, including prisons, was, in the year 1884-1885, 80,340,400 marks,* and the extraordinary budget, 3,855,680 marks. In the same year the French budget, which excludes prisons, was 6,188,750 francs for Courts of Appeal, and 20,082,500 francs for all other Courts. In Bavaria the budget amounted to 10,718,269 marks.

JUDICIAL DRESS.

The Magistrates, State Prosecutors and Bench Clerks wear a particular costume in Court. This practice dates from the new laws of justice, and was not introduced without a protest. The gown of French origin, proposed by Prussia, was keenly attacked; it was pretended that, by its antiquated form, it would harm the prestige and dignity of justice, and would excite the

* The ordinary budget was composed as follows :—

Ministry	...	...	552,020 marks.
Commission of Examination	...	...	37,300 "
Superior Courts	...	...	3,564,221 "
District and Bailiwick Courts	...	...	54,285,981 "
Prisons	...	...	7,700,275 "
Pensions	...	...	1,700,000 "
Subsidies to certain Courts	...	...	50,000 "
Expenses of Civil and Criminal Justice	...	...	850,000 "
Postal Expenses	...	...	2,070,880 "

mockery of litigants. Some preferred to it the tunic, which is worn by Magistrates in Austria, Hungary and Russia. The Prussian Parliament, however, adopted the proposal of Government by a small majority of 154 to 140; and the example of Prussia was followed by all other States. The judicial costume consists, throughout Germany, of a gown and a hat, or cap, but the form and distinctive signs differ in different States.

The gown is worn throughout Germany by all the Magistrates, Crown Prosecutors and Bench Clerks of the Superior and District Courts. It is generally worn by the Bailiwick Judges, but in some States they only wear it when sitting as a Criminal Court with assessors.

As regards Advocates, there are different rules in different States. In Prussia and nine other States Advocates wear thin robes in the Superior and District Courts. In Bavaria the matter is left to the individual choice of each Advocate.

In all the German Courts a Crown Prosecutor, or an advocate, must, when addressing the Court, wear his cap, but he can uncover himself during the course of the trial. Similarly the Judges, Prosecutor, the Advocates in the case and the Bench Clerk must have their heads covered during the delivery of a judgment, or the taking of an oath.

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES.

The salaries of the German Magistracy are generally superior to those of the French Magistracy, especially in the lower grades; and the superiority is more marked by reason of the comparative cheapness of living in Germany. Turning marks into pounds sterling, the First President of the Court of the Empire receives a salary of £1,250 per annum, inclusive of house allowance; the Presidents of Chambers and the Chief Crown Advocate receive £700, the Councillors and Advocates of the Empire £600, exclusive of a house allowance of £45.

The salaries of the First Presidents of the Superior Courts vary from £425 in Oldenburg to £800 at Hamburg. They are £700 in Prussia, £720 in Saxony, £750 in Alsace-Lorraine and Mecklenburg. In the other States they are only £440 or £480.

The salaries of the other Magistrates are as follows:—

SUPERIOR COURT.

Presidents' of Chambers -	.. £306—396 (Bavaria)	to £700 (Hamburg)
Councillors	... £200—300 (Baden)	to £650 (Hamburg)
Higher Crown Prosecutors	... £200—310 (Baden)	to £600 (Alsace)

DISTRICT COURT.

President	... £165—300 (Lippe)	to £600 (Hamburg)
Vice-Presidents	... £120—255 (Lippe)	to £500 (Hamburg)
District Court Judges	... £120—231 (Reusz)	to £250—500 (Hamburg)
Bailiwick Court Judges	... £100—225 (Baden)	to £250—500 (Hamburg)
Crown Prosecutors	... £114 (Bavaria)	to £250—500 (Hamburg)

It will thus be seen that the minimum salary of a German Magistrate is £90 in the Duchy of Baden ; but this salary rises after three years' service to £110, and after six years service to £130. Broadly speaking, no judicial salary in Germany is less than £120 per annum. The highest salaries are given in the Hanseatic Towns and in Alsace-Lorraine. As to the latter, the Imperial Government wished, by raising the salaries, to attract German Magistrates to the conquered countries, and so compensate them for the bad reception given them by the people.*

The Judges of the Bailiwick have the same salary as the District Court Judges in Prussia, Saxony, and ten other States ; in the other States it is from £30 to £54 less. In some States certain Magistrates receive, by reason of their functions, a supplementary allowance.

In a large number of States Magistrates are given a house allowance in addition to salary. This allowance varies according to the place of residence and the grade of the official, both towns and officials being divided into a certain number of classes. Salary is everywhere personal and increases by personal classes. The increase does not depend on the will of the Sovereign ; it is allowed according to length of service, or by seniority as vacancies occur. In Prussia the higher pay is gained by seniority, in increments of £30 for the higher, and of £15 for the lower Magistrates. In Bavaria promotion is given after 5, 10 and 15 years' service ; and thereafter increments of £9 are given for each completed five years' service up to certain maxima.

Magisterial salaries are generally paid in advance on the first day of the month for the whole month. Not more than one-third, and in some States one-fifth, is subject to attachment. It is not diminished by any deduction as a contribution towards pension ; the State admits that the pension is the due of long service, and that the public servant has not to purchase it.

In addition to salary, certain accessory allowances are assured to Magistrates. The house allowance has already been mentioned. The expenses of breaking up establishment † (*umzugs kosten*) on transfer are allowed to Magistrates, Crown Prosecutors and Bench Clerks, as to all functionaries. They

* It is impossible for any Indian Provincial Secretariat, with the best intentions, to do justice and give satisfaction in the matter of district appointments. The only real solution of the difficulty is to make the pay in the Dacca, Chittagong and parts of the Rajshahye and Presidency Divisions higher than in the rest of the Province, or to give some special house or other allowance.

† Such expenses are not allowed in India, and married officials experience great pecuniary loss by transfers. •

consist of a fixed sum for the general expenses, and of travelling allowance according to distance. The scale of expenses incidental to moving is in Prussia :—

SUPERIOR COURT.		General Expenses.			Per 10 Kilometers.		
		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Presidents of Superior Courts	...	50	1	0	0		
Councillors	...	25	0	10	0		
DISTRICT COURT.							
President	...	50	1	0	0		
Vice-Presidents and First Crown Prosecutor	...	25	0	10	0		
District Court Judges, Bailiwick Judges, Crown Prosecutors	...	15	0	8	4		
Bench Clerks...	...	9	0	6	3		
Subordinate Court Officers	...	5	0	4	2		

Married officials are generally allowed more than bachelors or widowers without children. Expenses of removal are allowed in all cases in Prussia, Baden, and Hesse; they are not allowed in nine States, if the official or Magistrate is transferred at his own request; in Saxe-Altenberg they are not allowed when the transfer means promotion, and in such a case in Brunswick the allowances due are reduced by the difference between the former and the new salary. Travelling allowance (*reisekosten*), as well as halting or diet allowance (*Diät, Tagegeld*), are given when Magistrates, &c., have to travel on duty, provided the distance of the place visited be more than two kilometers from their head-quarters.*

RETIREMENT AND PENSIONS.

Magistrates are irremovable; there is no restriction to this rule, which dominates all German legislations. A jurist remarks: "The limit of age, that blind and unjust law, which, to reach infirmities, strikes experienced and learned old age, the strength and light of justice, is unknown in almost all the German States." Saxony and Alsace-Lorraine only impose compulsory retirement at 65 to 70 years of age, respectively.

Magistrates have a right to pension on attaining the age of 65 to 70 years, or when they have served the State from 40 to 50 years. If they are rendered incapable of further

*The following rules may be of interest to Accountants-General in India : The travelling allowance is only one half the ordinary amount, if the journey does not last a minimum of six hours (in Württemberg eight hours); in Oldenburg, when the officer returns before noon; in such a case in Baden $\frac{1}{2}$ ths are allowed, and $\frac{7}{10}$ ths, if the return be before 9 or 10 P. M. in winter or summer, respectively. In Alsace and Württemberg the allowance is reduced to $\frac{1}{4}$ th, and $\frac{1}{3}$ rd in Mecklenburg if the journey and return journey take place the same day. Accountants-General may, at the same time, note that mileage and halting may both be drawn for the same day.

service by physical or intellectual infirmities, they can, at their request, retire, or they can, when it is considered necessary, be made to retire. Great scandal has in several instances been caused in England by Judges holding on in spite of infirmity or waning faculties. The retirement is pronounced by the Sovereign or the Minister of Justice.

As regards compulsory retirement, it is not left to the all powerful will of a Minister, or of the administration. There are fixed rules, and the order is passed by the decision of a Judicial Court.

In the case of the Court of the Empire, the Magistrate, who is considered incapable of further service, is warned by the First President, and given a certain time within which to ask to retire. If he refuses, the Court has jurisdiction, and can in general assembly order retirement, after hearing the Crown Advocate and the Magistrate concerned (Arts. 130, 131). There is an analogous procedure for all grades of Courts. The warning is generally given by the President of the Court, and if it is not taken, there is an inquiry, which is secret. The decision is final, and the Minister of Justice acts on it. It is passed in various States by the Disciplinary Chamber, by Special Chambers composed of the Presidents and a certain number of Members selected by the Presidiums, by the general assembly of the Court, &c. Thus there is always a judicial decision, preceded by a formal procedure, which secures a free defence to the Magistrate threatened, and by repeated invitations which give him a chance of avoiding the humiliation of an inquiry. Moreover, the inquiry is generally made by the Judges of a Superior Court, and not by the Magistrate's own colleagues.

Members of the State Prosecutor's Department and Bench Clerks, like all State functionaries appointed for life, can demand their retirement and pension on the same conditions as Judges, that is to say, after 40 to 50 years' service, or at 65 to 75 years of age; but they have not the same privilege as Magistrates of serving on, and they can be compelled to retire after the above service, or at the above age. The compulsory retirement is pronounced by a simple administrative order.

The rules regarding the pensions of Magistrates in Germany are favourable. In some States the right to pension accrues from the date of appointment; in Baden and Hesse it only accrues after five years' service, in Würtemberg after nine, and in Prussia, Saxony and five other States after 10 years. The pension is calculated on the basis of the salary drawn at the time of retirement, and house allowance is generally considered as part of the salary. The minimum pension varies from

$\frac{1}{4}$ to $\frac{1}{2}$ in various States ; and rises by $\frac{1}{80}$, $\frac{1}{80}$, or $\frac{1}{100}$ up to the maximum, or until it equals the salary. The increase commences from the 5th, 10th or 15th year in various States

The maximum pension is the full salary for the Court of the Empire, and for eight States, it is $\frac{2}{3}$ (or $\frac{6}{10}$) of the salary in Waldeck, $\frac{4}{5}$ in Prussia, $\frac{6}{8}$ in Alsace, up to $\frac{9}{10}$ in Oldenburg. The maximum pension is earned after 50 years' service in ten States, and by Judges of the Court of the Empire ; after 40 years' in five States, including Prussia and Saxony ; after 37 years' in four States ; after 35 years' at Lubeck, 30 years' at Bremen, and 25 years' in Waldeck. In Bavaria, Judges are entitled to their whole salary as pension, irrespective of length of service. It follows from the above that a pension of half the salary, which is earned in France only after 30 years' service, is earned in Germany in various States after 10, 15, 16, 17, 20, 25 and 30 years. Payment of pension is often delayed in France ; but in Germany the retired Magistrate or official continues to draw full salary for three months after his retirement, and is thus never reduced to the painful position of not drawing for months together either salary or pension

If any dispute arises regarding the right to pension, or the amount allowed, it is cognizable by the Judicial Courts ; but in Prussia resort is not allowed to the Courts until an application has been made to the Minister. The limitation for suing is six months. Pensions, like salaries, are payable in advance.

The right to pension is forfeited, if the official or Magistrate loses the German nationality, or is deprived by a criminal sentence of his civil or public rights. In some States, the pension is reduced by $\frac{1}{10}$ th, and in others by $\frac{1}{5}$ th, if the pensioner resides abroad.

Widows and minor children are entitled to a pension. The widow gets $\frac{1}{3}$ rd of the husband's pension, or of that to which he would have been entitled, subject to a minimum of £8 and a maximum of £80. Each child under 18 gets $\frac{1}{3}$ th of the mother's pension, if the mother is alive, or $\frac{1}{3}$ rd if she is dead or has forfeited her right to the pension. The total pension of widow and children cannot exceed the deceased official's pension. When the difference of age between husband and wife is from 15 to 25 years, the widow's pension is reduced by $\frac{1}{10}$ th for each year of difference. The pension ceases to be payable in case of the remarriage of the widow, of the marriage of the children, or of loss of nationality. No pension is allowed to the widow when the marriage has been contracted during the retirement of the husband, or without, permission, or during the course of the illness from which the husband has died ; and in one or two States, if

the husband was 60 or 65 years of age at the time of the marriage.

- Officials who are not Magistrates, contribute 3 per cent. of their salaries towards their pensions ; but bachelors do not contribute anything.

DISCIPLINE.

German Magistrates are, in all the States, subject to strict rules of discipline, for irremovability should not and cannot place a Judge above his duties and the law, and assure him impunity. "It is absolutely indispensable," remarks a jurist, that discipline, the necessary counterpoise of permanency, should be able to recall him to the observance of his professional obligations ; to strike him with punishments ; and even, if there be occasion, to deprive him of those functions of which he has shown himself no longer worthy. But one condition is necessary to secure the independence of justice : the disciplinary power must not belong to Government ; it must be exercised solely by the Courts." These principles have been applied in Germany.

Only the Magistrates of the Court of the Empire are not subject to any rule or disciplinary punishment. It was considered that it would be useless, and might even be injurious, to impose rules of discipline on the members of this High Court, having regard to their position, age, and previous services. No disciplinary punishment can, then, be pronounced against them.* They can only be deprived of their functions, if they are convicted by a Court of Common Law of any dishonourable act, whatever the duration of the punishment which deprives them of their liberty. In this case, the Court of the Empire is convoked in general assembly by the First President, acting either of his own motion, or at the instance of the Ministry of Justice ; and dismissal can be pronounced after hearing the Chief Prosecutor of the Empire as well as the explanations and defence of the member proceeded against (Art. 128).

As regards all other Magistrates, the disciplinary jurisdiction is exercised by the Chiefs of the judicial bodies, or by those bodies themselves, who can inflict administrative punishments, or punishments of order (*ordnungstrafen*), or disciplinary punishments properly so-called (*disciplinarstrafen*). The disciplinary decisions can be appealed against before the superior authority. The punishments of degradation and dismissal can be pronounced only by a Disciplinary Court, in the forms and with the guarantees of criminal justice.

* Art. 158 of the law of the 31st December, 1873.

These main principles have been everywhere followed ; but their practical application, as well as the constitution and organisation of the Disciplinary Court varies in each State. It will be sufficient to notice the practice in Prussia.

In Prussia, every Magistrate is under the supervision of his official superiors, who have the right, either *suo motu*, or at the instance of the State Prosecution Department, to admonish (*mahnung*) him, and recall him to the observation of his duties. The Magistrates who have the right of admonition are the First Presidents of the Superior Court over all Magistrates within their resort, and the Presidents of District Courts over the members of the District Court and the Judges of the Bailiwick. The Magistrate who is admonished can protest and demand the institution of a disciplinary prosecution, or appeal to the next higher official superior. Recourse to one remedy excludes recourse to the other.

Disciplinary prosecutions or proceedings are instituted against Magistrates for grave failure in their duties, or if their conduct is such as to diminish the respect due to their functions and the consideration due to their persons. The disciplinary proceeding is instituted, in the first instance, in each resort of a Superior Court, before the Disciplinary Chamber of the Superior Court. This Chamber must include the First President, who presides, and the senior of the Presidents of Chambers, and is composed, besides, of members of the Superior Court appointed each year, for the duration of the year, by the Presidium. It sits with seven members. The Government has no voice in the appointment and choice of the Disciplinary Judges. This Disciplinary Chamber exercises jurisdiction over all the Magistrates within the resort of the Superior Court, with the exception of the First President and the Presidents of Chambers of the Superior Courts.

The procedure is governed by the same rules as those followed in the Criminal Courts of Common Law, but the hearing is not public. Witnesses may be heard, and the Magistrate proceeded against may employ an advocate. The decision follows a simple majority. The disciplinary punishments are warning (*warnung*), blame or reprimand (*verweis*), reprimand with fine up to a month's salary, degradation (*versetzung*), with or without diminution of salary, or with a fine up to a maximum amount of one-third of the salary, and dismissal (*dienst entlassung*). The disciplinary judgment is appealable ; preliminary orders are susceptible of review. The appeal must be instituted within four months from the judgment.

The Grand Disciplinary Chamber (*Der grosse Disciplinar-senat*) decides appeals and applications for review. It sits at the Superior Court of Berlin, and gives its decisions with

fifteen Judges. It is presided over by the First President of the Superior Court of Berlin, and is composed of the five most Senior Presidents of Chambers, and of the necessary number of Judges, who are appointed each year by the Presidium. The procedure is the same as that before the Courts of Common Law. The Grand Disciplinary Chamber, besides being a Court of appeal and review, decides, as a Court of first instance, the disciplinary proceedings instituted against the First Presidents and Presidents of Chambers of the Superior Courts. In Alsace the Court of the Empire has taken the place of the French Court of Cassation, and the French disciplinary laws have been maintained.

In Saxony, if the punishments of censure or fine are pronounced twice within a period of three years, the Magistrate so punished is deprived for two years of the right to promotion. In some States the disciplinary punishments consist of oral censure, written censure, fine up to two months' salary, transfer and deprivation of employment.

To sum up, disciplinary punishments can be pronounced only by a Court of Discipline; such Court is always the Court of superior jurisdiction, and no where, except in Bavaria or Saxony, does the choice of the Judges belong to Government. Finally, the Magistrate proceeded against has the same guarantees of free defence as accused persons at common law, and the procedure, with some exceptions, is the same as that of the ordinary Courts.

Administrative punishments, on the other hand, are pronounced by the official superior of the Magistrate, and in this case the Magistrate can appeal to the next higher superior, or the Court of Discipline, or can claim to be tried by the Court of Discipline.

The trial is generally not public. However, publicity is the rule in Oldenburg and Würtemberg; and in Hesse and Mecklenburg publicity can be ordered on the request of the Magistrate proceeded against, or of the Public Prosecutor. The decision of the Court of Discipline is appealable in Prussia, Bavaria, Saxony, and eight other States. In four States, it is final, except in the case of the decisions of the Disciplinary Chamber of the District Court; and in six States it is final.

The Magistrate who is deprived of his employment, loses his right to pension; but, where there are extenuating circumstances, a part of the pension can be granted by the Court of Discipline for a time, or for life. A Magistrate must be dismissed who is sentenced by a Criminal Court to more than a year's imprisonment, or to deprivation of the right of exercising public functions.

Transfer is a punishment and can only be pronounced by disciplinary procedure. However, it may be necessitated by public reasons, and in the superior interests of justice, without any reproach to the Magistrate transferred, who has a right to a post of equal rank and emoluments. Even so, transfer cannot result from a simple administrative order ; it is only possible when the necessity for a transfer, in the interests of justice, has been declared by a judicial tribunal. This is the sole exception to the principle of immovability of residence, and the necessary guarantees are secured by the intervention of a judicial decision.

The members of the Crown Prosecution Department are functionaries, and not Magistrates ; and they are not submitted to the same rules of discipline as the Judges. They are under the authority and supervision of their official heads, the Chief Prosecutor of the District Court, the Superior Crown Prosecutor, and the Minister of Justice ; and they can be visited with administrative punishments. The advocate who is punished may appeal to the Superior Crown Prosecutor, or to the Minister, according as the decision has emanated from the District Court Prosecutor, or the Superior Crown Prosecutor.

EXCEPTIONAL COURTS.

Side by side with the ordinary Courts, the Code has permitted the maintenance, as an exceptional case, of certain special jurisdictions (Art. 14), the suppression of which was forbidden by ancient tradition, diplomatic treaties, special competence, or local interests.

COURTS OF NAVIGATION AND CUSTOMS.

The Courts of Navigation of the Rhine (*Rheinschiffahrtsgerichte*) and the Customs Courts of the Elbe (*Elbsollgerichte*) are International Courts. The first were established by treaties concluded between the riverain States and Holland, and the second by treaties between the riverain States and Austria.

The Navigation Courts adjudicate on all matters arising out of the navigation of the river, rights of pilotage, towing, wharfs, harbour, damage caused to riverain property, and disputes between masters and sailors, pilots or passengers. They also exercise a criminal jurisdiction and try contraventions of the river police. A Judge of the Bailiwick is appointed as the Court of Navigation, and he sits without assessors to try contraventions. An appeal lies to the District or Superior Court, and there is no further revision. Rhine Navigation Courts exist only in Alsace-Lorraine, Baden, Bavaria, Hesse and Prussia. Their number is 59.

The Customs Courts of the Elbe exist in Anhalt, Mecklenburg, Prussia, Saxony and Hamburg.

AGRARIAN COURTS.

Special Courts, known as Courts of Partition (*Auseinandersetzungs behörden*), preside over all agrarian operations which special laws have, since the commencement of the century, prescribed or authorised in Germany: such as partitions of communalities, redemption of servitudes, seignorial rights, and land charges, re-distribution of lands. In Prussia, Special Commissioners, attached to the Agrarian Courts, are sent to the spot to hold local investigations, examine titles, hear the parties, and prepare the decisions of the Agrarian Court. Appeal and revision are carried before the Superior Agrarian Court (*Oberlandes-Kulturgericht*) which sits at Berlin, and consists of a President and eight Judges appointed by the King, of whom five must possess the judicial capacity.

COMMUNAL COURTS.

Communal or Common Courts (*Gemeindegerichte*) exist only in Baden and Würtemberg. They have produced good results in practice, and serve to relieve the ordinary Courts. Their jurisdiction has no longer any obligatory character, and either party may take the matter before the ordinary Courts.

In the Duchy of Baden the Mayor takes cognizance of all disputes of material interest arising within the Commune, when the value of the object of the litigation does not exceed 10 marks, or, when the town contains more than 3,000 inhabitants, up to 30 marks. The Mayor must decide within 14 days: and his decision becomes final only after the lapse of 14 days. In Würtemberg the Communal Court is composed of all the members of the Municipal Committee of the Commune, or of three members specially delegated. It takes cognizance of civil disputes up to the value of 30, 40, or 50 marks, according to the class of the Commune.

COUNCILS OF EXPERTS.

Councils of Experts, or Industrial Courts (*Gewerbe-gerichte*), exist in Prussia, Alsace, Saxony, and at Hamburg. They take cognizance of disputes between masters and workmen concerning work, the execution of contracts of hiring, labour, apprenticeship, &c. They are composed of employers, managers and workmen, elected by an assembly of the same for three years. Every matter is taken for conciliation before an office composed of an employer and a workman; and if conciliation is not effected, before the whole Council. There is no appeal if the value of the litigation does not exceed 80 marks; if it exceeds that amount, there is an appeal to the District Courts.

SPECIAL COURTS FOR SOVEREIGNS & PRINCES OF THE BLOOD.

In most of the German States domestic laws or ordinances send before a special jurisdiction civil or criminal cases

which concern the Sovereign and the Princes of the blood. But in Baden, Brunswick and Oldenburg, the Sovereign and the Members of his Family are subject to the Courts of Common Law and do not enjoy any privilege.

In Prussia, the King, the Members of the Royal Family and the Hohenzollern Princes are subject to the civil jurisdiction of the Privy Council of Justice (*Geheimer Justiz Rath*). This Council, of which the creation dates back to 1604, is established at the Superior Court of Berlin. In Bavaria, a Royal Family Council (*Familien rath*) takes cognizance of cases of personal status, and the Superior Courts of other matters.

Besides these local legislative provisions, the Federal laws of procedure have accorded several privileges to the Sovereigns and Princes of the Blood. For instance, they are heard as witnesses at their own houses, and cannot be called to depose in Court.* They take oath by signing a formula which mentions the form of the oath.

In some States the principal members of the ancient Sovereign Families which have been mediatised, have a right, in criminal matters, to be tried by their peers (*Austrägalgericht*). The Code of Judicial Organisation has not thought fit to take away this right, which had been recognized by treaties, and had been consecrated by Article XIV of the Federal Constitution of the 8th June, 1815, and Articles 27 and 43 of the Congress of Vienna of the 9th June, 1815.

Such is the Judicial system of Germany. The Code opens out the most interesting problems in the fields of comparative jurisprudence, and the solutions which it gives to some most important questions are worthy of the attention, not merely of the statesmen and legislators of all civilized countries, but of all those whose duty it is to administer justice, and especially of English lawyers, whose views and ideas are bounded by the backward system of a solitary little island. We live in an age in which it is no longer permissible to ignore the institutions of foreign nations. Our rulers have no right to live indifferent to the counsel given by the science and experience of other countries. As was remarked by Louis XI. if one wishes to improve the administration of justice and police in one's own country, one must first study the manners, customs and laws of other countries, and pick out all that is most worthy of imitation.

H. A. D. PHILLIPS.

* Code of Procedure (Civil) Arts. 196, 340, 441, 444 ; Code of Procedure (Penal) Art. 71. Under sec. 641 of the Indian Code of Civil Procedure, the Local Government may exempt from personal appearance in Court any person whose rank, in the opinion of such Government, entitles him to the privilege of exemption.

ART. VII.—MODERN PROGRESS IN INDIA.

BY R. C. DUTT, C.I.E.

History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule. By PRAMATHA NATH BOSE, B.SC. (London). Published by W. Newman & Co., Calcutta.

ANCIENT INDIA—with its rich traditions and literature, its wonderful religious revolutions, and its varied culture, arts and civilisation—naturally attracts the attention alike of the student and the antiquarian. Along with Egypt and Assyria, India has engaged the attention of the greatest antiquarians in the present century. Her literature has been explored; her systems of philosophy have been studied; her religious teachings are honoured by the civilised world; her inscriptions have been read and explained; her history has been, to a great extent, settled. To the Hindu student, these new discoveries have a peculiar charm, and he loves to turn from modern facts to the story of the Punjab Aryans, to the teachings of the Upanishads and Sankhya philosophy, to the lessons of Gautama Buddha, and to the deeds of Chandragupta and Asoka. He looks back with a pardonable pride to the bright annals of thirty centuries of progress and Hindu civilisation which preceded the rise of Moslem power in India.

In our admiration of the past, which is legitimate and well founded, we run the risk, however, of somewhat ignoring the present. And yet the present century is one of the most eventful periods in the history of our country. From the continuous wars of Wellesley and Hastings to the peaceful administration of Ripon and Elgin, what a record of steady progress, of culture and enlightenment! The races of India have been brought into contact with Western civilisation and thought; they have received the benefits of Western education and culture; they are being drawn closer by the ties of their national religion and common history; and they are feeling a deeper interest in their political welfare and advancement.

Raja Ram Mohan Rai stands forth as the first marked result of Western education and culture in India. His name calls up the memories of the stirring events of the day, the controversies between the party of progress and the party of orthodox opposition, which fill the annals of the earlier years of the century. Every great question of the day was discussed between the two parties, and on every question Ram Mohan stood forth as the champion of culture and progress. And it is a hopeful sign that the great reformer, with all his Western ideas, sought

for light from the ancient and sacred Scriptures of his own country, and taught his countrymen in the noble monotheism of the Upanishads. He helped in the founding of the Hindu College in 1817; and the Bráhma Samaj of India was established by him in 1829. These were the first indications of progress and advancement fostered by British rule in India.

Fortunately the destinies of India were entrusted about this time to enlightened and noble-hearted statesmen, whose names have lived ever since, enshrined in the affections of the people. Biographers devote their skill to white-washing the blurred features of robust, but not very clean-handed heroes, and military chroniclers bestow adulation on conquerors who knew how to annex more than how to assimilate. But the people of India, and not biographers and chroniclers, are the ultimate judges of the fame of Indian rulers, and they cherish to this day the names of Munro, Elphinstone, and Bentinck, as the greatest and noblest of Indian rulers.

The historian of the present century will trace, with unerring hand, the great work which these great pioneers of Indian progress did for India and her people. They trusted the people; they reposed confidence in them; they invited them to take a share in the administration of the country; they cleared the way for their progress and advancement. The sons of the soil, who had been hitherto considered unworthy of responsible work, responded to the call, and during the last two generations they have formed a body of honest, respected and able Government servants in all parts of India. Macaulay stood by Lord William Bentinck, and helped to establish English education in India on a sound basis.

Much has been written against the first results of English education in this country; but follies pass away with the day, great results last. Brilliant scholars came out of the Hindu College with a warm appreciation of Western literature and Western thought, and the history of our century will be incomplete without some account of the ferment which agitated the young Hindu mind of this period. The agitation produced healthy results in the end, and led to the formation of the healthy and chaste Bengali literature of the present day. The venerable Debendra Nath Tagore continued the good work of Ram Mohan Rai; and the twin workers, Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar and Akhay Kumar Dutt, formed the elegant Bengali prose of the modern times.

Then followed the annexation of the Punjab and of Oudh and other provinces, and then the great Mutiny of 1857. The storm swept over the country, but administration was restored on a broader and firmer basis afterwards, and when India

passed under the Crown, she found in her Viceroy, Lord Canning, a ruler with broad sympathies and a strong will.

Social and literary culture went hand in hand with the march of these events, and the greatest Indian poet of the century, Madhu Sudan Datta, wrote his great Epic about this time.

It is needless to go on with the story further. Bankim Chundra, the first B. A. of the Calcutta University, began his brilliant literary career in Bengali in 1864, and Satyendra Nath Tagore, the first Indian Member of the Covenanted Civil Service of India, came out in 1865. Other young men came out in the Bar and in the Civil Service in subsequent years, and the number of young Indians receiving education in Europe can now be counted by the hundred. Political, literary, and industrial societies have been founded in all parts of India; Municipal administration has been placed in the hands of non-officials by Lord Ripon; and the Local Self-Government Act, passed by the same statesman, is helping the people of every district in India to take a share in the administration of their local concerns.

This is the briefest outline of the history of our eventful century, and it is desirable that some of our writers should exhaustively treat of these facts of the day. We are glad to find that materials are being collected, and we welcome the ambitious work of Mr. Pramatha Nath Bose on the *History of Hindu Civilisation during British Rule*. Works like this are much needed to illustrate the history of our eventful times.

I.

Mr. Bose's great work will be complete in four volumes, of which the first two volumes have been issued from the press. These two volumes treat of the Religious condition, the Social condition, and the Industrial condition of India; and they have been appropriately dedicated to Professor Max Müller and to the memory of Pandit Iswara Chandra Vidyasagar.

The work is a perfect storehouse of facts about modern life in India. Mr. Bose gives us a plain, unvarnished and yet interesting narration of every important movement, religious or social, industrial or intellectual, that marks the history of the modern Hindus. He tells us of their various religious sects, rites and ceremonies, of Vaishnavas and Bráhmās, of Chaitanya and of Keshab Chandra Sen. He gives us a colourless but interesting account of castes and marriage customs, of polygamy and Kulinism, of *Sati* and its abolition, of forbidden food and drink and sea voyage. He has a chapter on the social position of women, and another on the joint-family system. The outdoor and in-door games of the Hindus, their food, dress and ornaments, have been described in an interesting manner, while the

account given of *Pácháli* and *Half Akrai*, of *Kavi* and *Yátrds*, carries us back to the times of our fathers and grandfathers. All these details, giving a complete picture of modern Hindu life ; will be of great value to foreigners who wish to study the people of India, and can never fail to have interest for the Hindus themselves. But the most interesting portion of the book for the modern Hindu is the last portion of the second volume, which treats of Agriculture, of the Art-industries known in India since ages, of the infant Manufactures on modern methods, and of Mining industries. It is impossible for us to give, within our limits, any idea of the wealth of facts and information contained in this work ;—all we can do is to select a few at random.

The elaborate Introduction, of nearly a hundred pages, gives the writer an excellent opportunity to take a bird's-eye view of his subject, as well as to state and discuss his opinions, sometimes at great length, on a great many subjects. The reader, pressed for time, will probably pass this by, and begin with the *First Book*, where the writer settles down to a sober and interesting narration of facts relating to the religious condition of India. The history of religion in India through thousands of years given by Mr. Bose is somewhat of a twice-told tale ; but when we come to the last few centuries, the real interest of the work commences. Krishna-worship became the faith of the millions in India somewhat late in the day, and the illustrious Rámanúja, Madhváchárya and Rámánanda spread it over Southern India between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. Rámánanda's disciple, Kabir, was a weaver by caste or profession, he preached to the million, and to the Hindu and the Musalman alike. "Of what benefit," he asked, "is cleaning your mouth, counting your beads, performing ablutions and bowing yourselves in temples, when, whilst you mutter your prayers, or journey to Mecca and Medina, deceitfulness is in your heart ?" The millions responded to these spirited appeals and Kabir-panthis are numerous in Northern and Central India.

Then followed Nának, who was indebted for his religious ideas greatly to Kabir ; and Nának's pious followers were converted by persecution into the most powerful military race of modern India. Bengal also had her apostle of monotheistic faith, and the teachings of Chaitanya are still a living faith in Bengal.

But these are facts of the pre-British period. With the British conquest came the preachers of the Christian religion, but not with the sanction of the conquerors. The East India Company were a body of merchants, not religious preachers, and they threw every possible obstacle in the way of missionaries settling in these provinces. "When William Carey came

to Calcutta," says the writer, "in 1893, he had to preach the religion of Christ almost like a thief, in constant fear of being deported to England; and when, six years later, he, Joshua Marshman and William Ward started systematic mission work, they sought shelter at Serampore, then a Danish possession."

Christianity has not made much progress in India, but our author's chapter on the Spread of rational Hinduism in our own days among the advanced Hindus (called Neo-Hindus by the writer), is most interesting. Oriental research, the spread of Sanscrit learning, the spread of a national feeling among Hindus, and the appreciation of the monotheism of the Upanishads are the main causes which are forming this new class of advanced Hindus. The author treats of the Arya-Samaj, of the Punjab and the North-West in this chapter.

We pass over his account of numerous modern sects which are springing up in every part of India, including that of the late Ram Krishna Paramhansa in Bengal, and we come to the very important and appreciative chapter on the Bráhma Samaj. Only four pages of the book are devoted to the life and work of Raja Ram Mohan Rai, and we think double that space might profitably have been given, in addition, to a delineation of the times in which he lived and worked. Devendra Nath Tagore continued Ram Mohan's work, and then came on the scene Keshab Chandra Sen, whose work is described in some twenty pages. For an impartial account of the Bráhma Samaj of India, within a very brief compass, we commend our readers to this chapter.

II.

In the *Second Book* our author deals with what he calls the Socio-Religious condition of the Hindus. A rational and impartial enquiry into the history of the caste-system leads him to the conclusions which are generally admitted at the present day, *viz.* :—

(1) That during the Rig Vedic period there were two great ethnic castes, the fair Arya and the dark-skinned Dása.

(2) That, in a subsequent age, the two great functional castes, the Bráhman and the Kshatriya, were differentiated out of the Aryan caste, while the body of the Aryan people formed the Vaisya caste; the aborigines formed the Sudra caste.

(3) That, since then, the Sudra caste has increased and multiplied by fresh accessions of aboriginal tribes and by the degeneracy of the Vaisyas.

(4) And, lastly, that the disintegration of the great Vaisya and Kshasthya castes has formed the respectable functional castes of the modern times, like the Kayasthas and the Vaidyas.

More interesting still than this history of the caste-system is the writer's account of English influence on caste, and he shows how the English system of education, imparted to all alike, and the modern ways of travelling by steamer and railway, and various other modern influences, are welding together the Hindus of various castes into one great community.

The modern reader can scarcely conceive how cautiously, and yet with a benevolent desire to benefit the people of India, the British Government has fostered education and progress among them. Anecdotes, like the one we quote below, about the founding of the Medical College in Calcutta in 1835, fill Mr. Bose's volumes, and they are deeply interesting and historically valuable, as illustrating the progress of ideas. He quotes from Dr. Smith's *Life of Alexander Duff* :—

"'timidly and after a round-about fashion did the Apothecary-General [President of the Committee] approach the dreaded subject of dissection, for the first thing he learned, and, indeed, saw, was that the lads were chiefly Bráhmans. He thus began, 'You have got many scared books; have you not?' 'Oh yes,' was the reply, 'we have many shastras believed to be of divine authority' 'Have you not also medical shastras which profess to teach everything connected with the healing art?' 'Oh yes,' they said, 'but they are in the keeping of Vaidya caste; none of us belong to that caste; so that we do not know much about them.' 'Do your doctors learn or practise what we call anatomy?' 'We have heard them say that anatomy is taught in the shastras, but it cannot be like your anatomy.' 'Why not?' 'Because respectable Hindus are forbidden, by imperative rules of caste, to touch a dead body for any purpose whatever; so that from examination of the dead body our doctors can learn nothing about the real structure of the human body.' 'Whence, then, have they got the anatomy which, you say, is taught in the shastras?' 'They have got it out of their own brains, though the belief is that this strange shastra anatomy must be true or correct, it being revealed by the gods; but we now look upon this as nonsense.' 'What then if the Government should propose to establish a Medical College for Hindus under European doctors like the Medical College in Europe? Would you approve or disapprove of such a measure; or how would it be viewed by the natives generally?' 'We, certainly, who have been taught European knowledge through the medium of English, would cordially approve, but our ignorant orthodox countrymen would as certainly disapprove.' The Apothecary-General was greatly surprised when the English educated youths of the school expressed their readiness to join the Medical College, if Government would start it. 'What,' he exclaimed, 'would you actually be prepared to touch a dead body for the study of anatomy?' 'Most certainly,' rejoined the head youth of the class, who was a Bráhman; 'I, for one, would have no scruples in the matter. It is all prejudice, old stupid prejudice of caste, of which I at least have got rid.'"

Mr. Bose proceeds to state that, after the College was opened, the first demonstration by dissection caused great anxiety. The College gates were closed to prevent forcible interruption in that awful act; and when the first student, following his professor, plunged his knife into the subject for dissection, the action was looked upon as a remarkable instance of moral courage.

Still more interesting is the chapter on *Sati*, or the burning of widows on the funeral pyre of their husbands. The cruel custom is now a thing of the past, thanks to beneficent British legislation; and the account of a rite witnessed and described by Sleeman and quoted by Mr. Bose has, therefore, all the interest of romance for the modern reader :—

"Satisfied myself that it would be unavailing to attempt to save her life, I sent for all the principal members of her family, and consented that she should be suffered to burn herself if they would, enter into engagements that no other member of their family should ever do the same. This they all agreed to it, and the papers having been drawn out in due form about midday, I sent down notice to the old lady, who seemed extremely pleased and thankful. The ceremonies of bathing were gone through before three, while the wood and other combustible materials for a strong fire were collected, and put into the pit. After bathing she called for a *pin* (betel leaf), and ate it; then rose up, and, with one arm on the shoulder of her eldest son, and the other on that of her nephew, approached the fire. I had sentries placed all round, and no other person was allowed to approach within five paces. As she rose up, fire was set to the pile, and it was instantly in a blaze. The distance was about 150 yards. She came on with a calm and cheerful countenance, stopped once, and casting her eyes upward, said: 'Why have they kept me five days from thee, my husband?' On coming to the sentries, her supporters stopped. She walked once round the pit, paused a moment, and, while muttering a prayer, threw some flowers into the fire. She then walked up deliberately and calmly to the brink, stepped into the centre of the flame, sat down, and leaning back in the midst, as if reposing upon a couch, was consumed without uttering a shriek or betraying one sign of agony."

It was little short of heroism on the part of Lord William Bentinck to abolish this cruel rite at the risk of exciting a mutiny in the country; but that nobleman had made up his mind. What it cost him will appear from a passage which Mr. Bose has quoted :—

"Strong as his nerves were known to be, his anxiety on this occasion, as the time approached for laying the Act before the Council was observed by those about him, and was particularly obvious to those who could judge of the workings of his mind from his countenance and demeanour. The only opposition it encountered at the Council Board had reference to the clause which permitted the Nizamut Adawlut to punish the crime with death. It was reasonably urged, that to inflict the extreme penalty of the law in a transaction which our Government had previously legalized, would be an act of inconsistency. But the clause was passed without alteration, as the Members of Council were unwilling, by retarding the immediate enforcement of the regulation, to afford time for remonstrances from the natives which they knew would be warmly seconded by the European opponents of the measure whose sympathies were entirely Hindu."

Raja Ram Mohan Roy and other advanced Hindus then presented Lord William Bentinck with an address, and the Governor-General's reply is a statesmanlike document which deserves to be quoted :—

"It is very satisfactory for me to find that, according to the opinions of so many respectable and intelligent Hindus, the practice which has recently been prohibited, not only was not required by the rules of their religion, but was at variance with those writings which they deem to be of the greatest force and authority. Nothing but a reluctance to inflict punishment for acts which might be conscientiously believed to be enjoined by religious precepts, could have induced the British Government at any time to permit, within territories under

its protection, an usage so violently opposed to the best feelings of human nature. Those who present this address are right in supposing that by every nation in the world, except the Hindus themselves, this part of their customs has always been made a reproach against them, and nothing so strangely contrasted with the better features of their own national character, so inconsistent with the affections which unite families, so destructive of the moral principles on which society is founded, has ever subsisted amongst a people in other respects so civilized. I trust that the reproach is removed for ever ; and I feel a sincere pleasure in thinking that the Hindus will thereby be exalted in the estimation of mankind to an extent in some degree proportioned to the repugnance which was felt for the usage which has now ceased."

III.

The *Third Book*, on the Social condition of India, begins appropriately with an account of the social position of women ; and this is followed by a chapter on the Joint-family. Mr. Bose is by no means an out-and-out advocate of modern ideas of advancement ; he can afford to give room in his book to the views of orthodox critics who hold that female education " is secretly sapping the very foundations of our nationality." Mr. Bose himself does not endorse this view, but goes so far as to state that, with the breaking-up of the Joint-family system, " signs of an increased sense of self-interest are observable in the community."

The chapter on Amusements is replete with interesting facts, and treats of the Drama, Music, Games, Jugglery and Magic. In the following chapter, on Food, Drink, &c., Mr. Bose quotes, from an old number of this *Review*, an account of the habit of smoking *hookas*, in which Europeans indulged in the last century, and which will bear repetition :—

" Every *hookah-buridar* prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dessert, they range them round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry of silence, till the noise subsides, and the conversation assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke which fills the apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his *hookah* he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies ; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his *hookah*. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouthpiece he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his *hookah*, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of trivial importance : it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend, and often still more to a husband."

IV.

We must hasten, however, to the *Fourth Book*, the last in these volumes, which contains interesting and valuable information about Agriculture and Industries. Mr. G. C. Bose, M.R.A.C., a specialist in Indian Agriculture, has contributed the chapter on Agriculture, and it is in every way worthy of him. It will interest our readers to know that in Bengal 41 millions of acres, out of the total cultivated area of 55 millions, are under rice cultivation. This is about 75 per cent. In the North-West the proportion under rice cultivation is 19 per cent. ; in

Madras, 23 per cent. ; in the Central Provinces, 24 per cent. ; in Bombay, 6 per cent. ; and in the Punjab, only 3 per cent. Our readers are aware that rice was unknown to the Punjab Hindus of the Vedic age, and their sturdy descendants still look suspiciously on the grain which fills more than it strengthens !

Wheat, on the other hand, is the staple food of Northern and Western India ; and the exportation of wheat has gone on increasing. The quantity of wheat exported from India was only about six hundred thousand hundredweight in 1871-72, and had risen to thirty million hundredweight in 1891-92. Comparing the areas under wheat cultivation in the different provinces, our author tells us "that wheat flourishes most where rice does not, and that the great wheat-producing area embraces the whole of Northern India up to the head of the Gangetic delta, and, in Southern India, the whole of the tableland above the Ghats."

Sugar has been known in India since ancient times ; and botanical evidence favours the idea of India being the home of the parent stock from which the cultivated varieties of sugarcane have been gradually evolved. Cotton, too, was extensively used in India in the time of Herodotus, and cotton fabrics used to be exported from India to all parts of the civilised world in ancient and in modern times. The development of machinery in England has revived the Indian cotton industry, and the raw produce is largely exported, especially since the American war of 1862. The annual export now is over five million hundredweight. The cultivation of jute has largely extended in recent times, and the annual export exceeds ten million hundredweight.

India has practically the monopoly of supplying the European trade with indigo, and the annual yield is estimated at fifteen million pounds sterling ; and India still supplies China with the best opium. On the other hand, silk is declining in India : we import more than we export. The silk of Japan, China and France controls the European market. With tea and coffee the peasantry of India have little concern.

Mr. T. N. Mukerji contributes a most valuable chapter on the Art-industries of India,—his special subject. The chapter deals with Painting, Engraving, Sculpture, Architecture, Wood-carving, Enamelled jewellery, Gold and Silver plate, Enamelled-ware, Brass and Copper manufacture, Inlaid-work, and various other industries known in India since remote ages. Cotton fabrics and silk fabrics have declined, and even the Kashmir shawl manufacture is in a deplorable state. Unless means are adopted to preserve it, "the art of weaving the finest shawls," says our author, "will probably be extinct."

The volume ends with two chapters on Manufactures on modern methods and Mining. In the former of these chapters Mr. Bose gives us figures showing that the import of cotton goods into India steadily increased for nearly thirty years after the Mutiny, from 1858 to 1886, but has been almost at a stand still since then. The value of cotton twist and cotton goods imported in 1858-59 was about 98 millions of rupees. It rose to 284 millions of rupees in 1886-87, and has stood at about the same figure ever since. Mr. Bose does not tell us whether this is on account of the cotton mills started in recent years in different parts of India.

Mr. Bose quotes from the Indian Textile Journal Directory the following interesting account of the way in which Rao Bahadoor Ranchorlal Chotalal started the cotton mill industry in India less than fifty years ago :—

"In 1848-49, he published a prospectus in a local vernacular paper of a small spinning mill of 5,000 spindles with 100 looms attached ; but his townsmen [of Ahmedabad] found the project too daring, and too full of risk ; and the fact that Bombay had not yet made such a venture, was taken as conclusive of its rashness. Fortunately he found in Mr. Laudan, the owner of a ginning factory at Broach, a colleague, who entered fully into his views, and the result was the establishment, in 1854, of a cotton mill at Broach. Soon after, the Oriental and the Manockjee Petit Mills were started in Bombay, and, in 1859, Mr. Ranchorlal Chotalal, with the aid of his local friends, was able to open the Ahmedabad Spinning and Weaving Company's Mill, which began work with 2,500 spindles. This mill has been managed for the last thirty-five years by himself, his son, and his grandson, and has now, 32 000 spindles and 680 looms."

The last chapter in the volume is on Mining which is Mr. Bose's special subject. Mr. Bose produces very fair evidence that mining was extensively known in ancient India, although the industry was confined to the lower classes and often to the aboriginal races, and is little noticed by Brahman writers. The great lawgiver, Manu, even classes mining as a sin, and prescribes a penance for it ! But this, in itself, shows, that it was practised from the remotest times :—

"We have, however, abundant indirect evidence of the working of gold, silver, copper, and iron mines in ancient India on a rather extensive scale. The statement of Megasthenes with regard to the mineral resources of the country has been quoted already. Ktesias refers to the silver mines of India, which, he says, are deeper than those in Bactria. 'Gold also,' he says, 'is a product of India. It is not found in rivers and washed from the sands,' but is found on mountains. Pliny (first century A. D.) referred to the country of the Narece, who are identified with the Nairs of Malabar, as comprising numerous mines of gold and silver."

"More satisfactory evidence than all this is the discovery of extensive and numerous ancient mines of gold, copper, and silver. The ancient gold mines in the Wynaad region, indicate different degrees of knowledge in the miner's art. They consisted of 1, quarrying on the outcrops of veins ; 2, vertical shafts ; 3, adits ; 4, vertical shafts with adits ; 5, shafts on underlie. Among these the most remarkable are the vertical shafts ; they are, even when in solid quartz, sometimes 70 feet deep, with smooth and quite plumb sides. What the tools were which enabled the miners to produce such

work in hard dense quartz no one appears to be able to suggest. The fragments of stones obtained from these various mines were pounded with hand-mullers, the pounding places being still seen, and the pounded stone was then, it is believed, washed in a wooden dish and treated with mercury."

We have now gone—although cursorily—over the whole field of Mr. Bose's two volumes, and shall await the publication of his remaining two volumes with interest. From what we have stated above, our readers will see that Mr. Bose is eminently fitted for the task he has undertaken. He is not a theorist and he is not an enthusiast; he advocates reform, but can appreciate what was good in the past; and, above all, he can let facts speak for themselves. A laborious enquirer, he is at the same time a pleasant narrator, and his style is simple and pleasant, chaste and perspicuous.

BURDOWAN; }
1st September, 1894. }

R. C. DUTT.

ART. VIII.—THE BERARS.

(A HISTORICAL SKETCH.)

THE Province of the Berars is so far removed from all the main routes of communication in India, that probably many an Anglo-Indian even would be unable to lay his finger exactly upon its position on the map; and yet this portion of the country is by no means devoid of interest, whether on account of the peculiarity attaching to its present political position as "Assigned Districts," or of its past history, the traces which it contains of the struggles between the Mahrattas and the Moghals, and subsequently the English—in the course of which it formed part of the scene, of one of the most brilliant of General Wellesley's campaigns—, and the extraordinary success which has attended its administration since its assignment to the British Government in the year 1853.

Under the, perhaps, better known title of "The Hyderabad Assigned Districts," the Province of the Berars acquires periodically an ephemeral notoriety, as the question of its restoration to the Nizam of the Deccan is brought forward by some well meaning, but mistaken, friend or dependent of that Chief. It relapses, however, as often into its former state of obscurity, as soon as the inherent impossibility of acceding to such a proposal, which would involve the reduction of the only really well-organised and reliable force at the disposal of the Nizam, is again demonstrated, and the temporary interest thus aroused has worn itself out.

The custom of assigning territories for the maintenance of armed forces is one that has always prevailed in Asiatic countries, as it did also in Europe till comparatively recent times, before the introduction of standing armies, paid by, and immediately dependent upon, the Sovereign, had supplanted the old system by which every owner of land was obliged to furnish his quota of armed men, when called upon to do so, in defence of the national interests.

In the East, in default of such standing armies, which are there too recent an innovation to be any thing but very imperfectly understood, the armed force of a State is still mainly provided for by its Tributary Chiefs, or by the assignment of land to individuals upon the condition of their providing a specified number of soldiers when occasion requires.

The circumstances under which the Berars were assigned to the British Government, to provide the means for the maintenance of a fixed body of troops, for the use, indeed, of the Nizam, but to be placed at the disposal of the British whenever

they should require its services, may be described as the exact converse of the above system.

In the case of the Berars, the Nizam of the Deccan, being no longer in a position to maintain the troops with which he was required by Treaty to furnish the British Government when called upon to do so, was reduced to the necessity of assigning to it a portion of the territory nominally under his rule, in order that, by its administration of the same, the necessary funds might be provided. The obligation for the furnishing of this force has thus been transferred from the assignor to the assignee, and the terms of the assignation have become the same as if it were upon the British Government that the obligation lay to provide the force of the Hyderabad Contingent, instead of upon the Nizam of the Deccan.

The relations of the British Government and the Nizam are peculiar in such matters, for they are under mutual obligations for the maintenance of troops for one another's benefit. The burden of these falls more heavily upon the British Government than on the Nizam; for while the latter has to furnish a force of 7,000 natives, officered by Europeans, which are provided for from the result of the careful administration of the Hyderabad Assigned Districts by the British, the British Government is bound to maintain permanently in garrison at Secundrabad, for the protection of the Nizam, a body of about 8,000 men, consisting of British Artillery, and British and Native Cavalry and Infantry. This is a source, not only of great expense, but of great inconvenience, when troops are required elsewhere; for the Nizam is very jealous of the privilege, and keeps a careful watch over any attempted infraction of his rights by a reduction of the force which the British Government has by Treaty stipulated to keep there.

The history of the Berars previous to its being thus placed under British Administration had been a very chequered one for many centuries; as, from its geographical position, it constituted a sort of debateable ground between the rival Mahommedan kingdoms of the Deccan, and subsequently, on the rise of the power of the Mahrattas, between these latter and the Mahommedans themselves.

The first record of the appearance of the Mahommedans in this part of India is that of Ala-ud-deen, the nephew of the Emperor Feroze-Ghilji, of Dehli, who, in the year 1294, crossed the Satpura range of mountains, which bound the Berars on the North, and separate it by a labyrinth of deep forests and tangled ravines, from the more open country of Central India, and took Ellichpur, the capital of the Hindu Rajah of the country, after a desperate resistance, in which many

Mahommedans were slain. Ala-ud-deen was followed by various bands of Mahommedan marauders, against whom the Hindu population would appear to have made a gallant stand for some years, till the year 1320, when it was finally reduced by Mubarak Ghilji, and it never afterwards appears to have passed entirely from the nominal dominion of its Mahommedan rulers, though their supremacy therein was, many years later, successfully contested by the Mahrattas for a very long period.

Under the Emperor Mahomed Taghluk in the 14th century, the Berars constituted one of the Provinces placed, on account of their distance from the seat of Government, under the more immediate control of the Imperial Viceroy, or the "Nizam," as was his Mahommedan title, of the Deccan, who resided at Dowlatabad, the Hindu Deogurh, to which the Emperor had temporarily transferred his capital from Dehli.

Upon the death of this Emperor, amid the disturbances which attended the decline of the dynasty he had founded, all these Southern Provinces fell away from the Imperial sway, and were divided into numerous petty Mahommedan kingdoms. Amongst these the Province of the Berars fell to the lot of the Bahmani dynasty, the seat of whose rule was at Gulburgah, and it remained under their sway for a period of 130 years, till its collapse in 1526.

It was during this period that the famous fortress of Gawilgarh, on the hill plateau of Chikalda, amongst the Satpuras, was constructed, in 1420, by Ahmed Shah Bahmani, who resided for a year at Ellichpur. He also repaired the ancient Hindu Fort of Narnalla, further west, on the southern border of the same range.

During the declining days of the Bahmani dynasty, a Canarese Hindu had risen to the position of the command of the Berar forces, under the title of Imad-ul-mulk. He set himself up in the year 1484 as a petty chief at the fortress of Gawilgarh. Thence he gradually extended his rule, and thus founded the Inad Shahi dynasty of the Berars, which lasted for 90 years, till the year 1572, when it was conquered by Nizam Shah, the King of Ahmadnagar, who ceded it to the Emperor Akbar in 1594. After the conquest of the kingdom of Ahmadnagar by the Emperor Akbar in 1607, and the consequent extinction of the Nizam Shahi dynasty which had reigned there since 1489, this Province, together with those of Berar and Khandeish, was constituted a Viceroyalty of the Deccan, the seat of Government of which was established successively at Ahmadnagar and Aurungabad, till, in the year 1724, it was transferred by Chin-Kilich-Khan Asaf-Jah to Hyderabad, the present capital of the dominions of the Nizam of the Deccan.

It may here be observed that the greater part of the territories which now constitute the State of the Deccan, were not incorporated in the Moghal Empire till many years later, after the conquest of Golcondah by Aurangzeb in the year 1687, when this kingdom, together with the Province of the Carnatic, was formed into a subordinate Governorship, or Subha, under the Viceroyalty of the Deccan. In 1724, when Chin-Kilich-Khan Asof-Jah moved the head-quarters of his Viceroyalty to Hyderabad, which was then a new town that had sprung up in the immediate neighbourhood of the ruined Golcondah, the territories under Mahomedan rule in the Deccan had, by the repeated aggressions of the Mahrattas, become restricted to little beyond the limits of this subordinate Governorship. The Emperor Akbar then, having included the Berars, which then also included Nagpur, in the Viceroyalty of the Deccan, placed the latter Province under the Governorship of his son, Prince Murad, who built a palace for himself near Balapur. The Berars, under Moghal rule, formed a Subha, and, from the revenue assessment drawn up by the Emperor Akbar, its prosperity would appear to have at that time constituted a favourable example of the successful results attained by that sagacious ruler's treatment of his subjects.

The "Ain-i-Akbari," or Revenue Statistics of the Moghal Empire, drawn up, under the orders of Akbar, by his famous Minister, Todar-Mull, show that the Districts at present contained within the limits of the Berar Province then realised about 120 lakhs of rupees of revenue. This is sufficient proof that the position of the Province must, under Moghal rule, have been far more prosperous than it was when it was assigned to the British Government, after having been for 50 years under the administration of the Nizam, for its revenues at the latter date were estimated by the Nizam's Government itself not to exceed forty lakhs. This decrease of prosperity must not be attributed entirely to mal-administration by the Nizam, for the Province had for a period of upwards of 100 years, during the decay of the Moghal Empire and until the rise of that of the British, constituted a sort of debateable ground between the opposing forces of the Mahomedans and the Mahrattas, who alternately ravaged its territories. Upon the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, and the subsequent destruction of the Moghal supremacy in Southern India, the Berars fell under the rule of Chin-Kilich-Khan, the Nizam-ul-Mulk Asof-Jah, as was his official title. This Chief, whether as a statesman or as a soldier, was by far the ablest Mahomedan leader at this period. It was his energy and ability that rescued the Province of the Deccan from the state of disorder and distraction into which it had fallen, and which would have rendered it a ready prey to the Mahratta hordes hovering

around it, and his diplomacy and talent for intrigue, which enabled him, by sowing dissensions amongst the latter, and alternately siding with the one against the other, to evade compliance with their exactions, and maintain the comparative independence of his position. Had it not been for the appearance of Chin-Killich-Khan upon the scene at this very critical period of the struggles between the Mahomedans and the Mahrattas, it is probable that every trace of Mahomedan supremacy in the Deccan would have been swept away as completely as was the case with the neighbouring Viceroyalties of Malva and Gujarath. Chin-Killich-Khan had been instrumental in securing the throne of Dehli for the Emperor Faroksier, and the latter, on his accession in the year 1721, rewarded him with the post of Nizam, or "Viceroy," of the Deccan.

His successful administration of the Province thus assigned him excited the jealousy and suspicions of the two brothers, Syed Hoosein Ali and Syed Abdoola, who had constituted themselves the "Mayors of the Palace" of the weak-minded and effeminate Moghal Emperor, and they intrigued for his recall.

Chin-Killich-Khan, however, defeated, in two pitched battles, the forces sent against him to enforce this order. In this opposition he was joined by Ghaus Khan, the Governor of the Berars, and the most important of these battles took place at Balapur in the Akola District. Upon the fall of the Syeds, he was again received into favour by the Emperor Mahomed Shah, who made him his Vazir. The laxity and self-indulgence of the Moghal Court was, however, as distasteful to Chin-Killich-Khan as the austerity of his own manners and habits rendered his presence there insupportable to the Emperor and his courtiers. He, in consequence, applied for and obtained the Viceroyalty of Gujarath, in addition to that which he already held of the Deccan. Here, again, his success in reducing this Province to order, and checking the incursions of the Mahrattas, proved as great as it had done before in the case of the Deccan. This raised once more the jealousy of the Court favourites against him, and he returned to Dehli to resume his position as Vazir for only a brief period, when, finding the demeanour of the Emperor and his favourites unmistakeably adverse to him, he pleaded ill-health, resigned his post as Minister, and withdrew to his Viceroyalty of the Deccan.

It was on this occasion that the Emperor conferred upon him the additional title of Asof-Jah.

At the same time, however, he secretly wrote to the subordinate Governors of the Province, denouncing him as a traitor.

The consequence of this duplicity was a desperate encounter between the forces of Chin-Killich-Khan and Mubarni Khan, the Governor of Hyderabad, in which the latter was completely defeated near Aurangabad, and Chin-Killich-Khan, marching southwards, regained possession of Golcondah and Hyderabad, and all the southern districts constituting the Province of the Deccan.

It is from this period that the independence, if it can be so called, of the "Nizams" of the Deccan must be dated. They remained, indeed, nominally the Emperor's Viceroys, as the title they still retain implies, but they practically occupied henceforward the position rather of Tributary Chiefs to the Moghal Empire while it lasted, as they still continue to do under that of the British, which has succeeded to the rights of the Moghal. The office of "Nizam," or Viceroy of the Deccan, which had hitherto been one of the most valued pieces of patronage of the Dehli Court, became henceforth hereditary in the family of Chin-Killich-Khan. The rule of the "Nizams" in the Berars, before this Province was conquered from the Mahrattas by the British, and handed over to him after the battles of Assaye and Argaum, in the year 1803, appears to have been always rather nominal than real. Though the Mahrattas seem to have recognised it as forming a part of his dominions; this did not prevent them from occupying it with their forces, and placing their own officers to collect the taxes, which they levied from all districts, which they had overrun but not actually annexed, of "Chauth" and "Deshmooke." These taxes, which were rated respectively at 25 per cent. and 10 per cent. upon the revenue of the Province, were claimed by the Mahrattas as a species of "black-mail," or price of exemption from their raids. They had their origin in certain assignments upon the Bijapur revenue, granted to Sivajie by Aurangzeb under the same title, as the price of his surrendering to the Moghals some forts taken from this State, with which Aurangzeb was then at war, and of his co-operation in the prosecution of the war.

From this date, wherever the Mahratta arms spread, or their influence penetrated, these taxes were levied. In 1720 Balajee Vishwanath, the Peishwah, or Minister of Sivajee, or Shao, the Rajah of the Mahrattas, obtained from the Emperor Mahomed Shah a grant of these taxes, or tribute (as it was euphemistically designated, to avoid injuring the susceptibilities of the Mahomedans), for the whole of the Deccan.

In this deed the revenues of the Berars are estimated at 115 lakhs of rupees. From this it would appear how low the power of the Moghals had then fallen; for the collectors

of this tribute were appointed by the Mahrattas in all the principal cities of the Deccan.

Though the Berars had, for many years previous to this, been subject to irregular forced contributions from the Mahrattas, it does not appear that, until then, there had been any organised system for their collection. The curious anomaly thus occurred, of two rival Governments collecting taxes, at the same time, from the same population.

This period is known locally as that of "Do-amli," or "Double Government;" for the Mahrattas posted their officers all over the Province, occupied it with their troops, and collected more than half the revenue, while yet admitting the "de jure" supremacy of the Nizam.

It was, of course, impossible that such a system could work without frequent disputes, and the unfortunate inhabitants were exposed to alternate plunderings by the Mahrattas and the Nizam's troops, according as the one or the other got the advantage, and were able to enforce their claims. The general result, however, was a steady increase in the Mahratta influence till the year 1734, when Raghojee Bhonslay obtained from the Peishwah a sunaud for the collection of tribute from the Berars, which then included Nagpore, and may be said to have laid the foundation of a local Mahratta dynasty, which, but for the intervention of the British, would have been continued in the same way as the existing dynasties of Sindia and Holkar. That this was the view taken of the position by our English historians is evident from the fact that Raghojee Bhonslay, the son of the above mentioned, who succeeded to his title and rule, is described by them always as the "Rajah of Berar" in their accounts of the war between the English and the Mahrattas, in which he took a part.

Towards the middle of the 18th century the power of the Mahrattas was at its zenith. The armies of the great Mahratta Chiefs had penetrated to Lahore and Delhi, and the neighbourhood of Calcutta, in Northern India. Towards the south all signs of Mahommedan rule had disappeared from the Viceroyalties of Gujarath and Malva, which had now become the hereditary possessions of the Mahratta families of the Gaikowar and Holkar, respectively. The only remaining Viceroyalty, that of the Deccan, had become so circumscribed by cessions of territory, and reduced by exactions of tribute, that it may be said to have presented little beyond the phantom of independence. The fatal defeat which the combined forces of the Mahrattas sustained in 1759 at the hands of the great Afghan conqueror, Ahmad Shah Abdali,

In the battle of Panipat, broke their power altogether in Northern India, though they continued, after his departure, to overrun it periodically with their troops. In Southern India, however, their force remained unbroken, and, had it not been for their own internal dissensions, and the appearance upon the scene of the British, they would undoubtedly have before long succeeded in sweeping away every sign of Mohammedan rule from the country.

Dissensions, however, broke out between Sindia and Holkar, the two most powerful of the Mahratta Chiefs, which continued for many years, and laid the seeds of a hereditary jealousy, that has never been completely stilled. In the year 1800 the influence of Sindia was in the ascendant, and Poona, the capital of the Peishwah (who was the nominal head of the Mahratta confederation, but had become little more than a pageant in their hands), was occupied by his troops. The influence of Sindia was contested by Holkar, who, after a campaign conducted with varying success, defeated, in the year 1802, the combined forces of Sindia and the Peishwah outside Poona, and forced the latter to flee from his capital. Reduced to these straits, the Peishwah turned to the English for assistance, and concluded with them the famous Treaty of Bassein, by which he assigned to them certain districts for the permanent maintenance of a British force for his protection at Poona, in the same way as the Nizam did subsequently for the maintenance of a British force at Secundrabad for his own against the Mahrattas.

The Treaty of Bassein was viewed with the greatest alarm by the Mahratta Chiefs, who realised too late the danger into which their internal disputes had plunged them; for, by this Treaty, in which the British posed as supporters of the titular suzerain of the Mahratta people against his rebellious chiefs, a wedge was inserted into the confederation, which divided it into hostile camps.

Sindia, in spite of his recent differences, endeavoured to negotiate with Holkar a general confederation against the British; but Holkar preferred the prospect of a possible defeat of his rival by the latter, and thus stood aloof, from motives of personal jealousy.

Lord Wellesley, who was then Governor-General of India, realized at once the importance of the juncture, and made preparations to assail Sindia from all sides. In the North, he directed General Lake to advance against Delhi, which was then occupied by Sindia's forces, a movement which resulted in the total defeat of the latter at the battle of Laswaree. In the South, his brother, General Wellesley, was ordered to attack the combined forces of Sindia and the Rajah of Berars, which

were threatening Poona from the Berar. The campaign commenced with the capture of Ahmadnagar, which General Wellesley made his base of operations, and thence he advanced to meet the Mahratta forces which were marching upon him. The forces at General Wellesley's disposal moved in two divisions along parallel routes, for the purpose of facilitating their advance. Of these, one division, consisting of about 4,500 men of all arms, was under Wellesley himself; and the other, of about 3,000 men, was under Colonel Stevenson. It was agreed that on a certain day these two forces should meet at a particular spot, which, it was calculated, would be in the neighbourhood of where the Mahratta army would then be, and combine to attack the latter; but, by some mistake, on the day fixed, General Wellesley found himself in the immediate neighbourhood of the Mahratta troops, and thus unable to await, as he considered, without considerable risk, the arrival of Colonel Stevenson's Division.

He accordingly attacked them forthwith, although they numbered some 40,000 men, and, in the battle which ensued, named, after a village close by, the battle of Assaye, completely routed them, and pursued Sindia beyond the Taptee.

Following up this victory, Wellesley proceeded against Raghojee Bhonslay, the Rajah of Berar, who had rallied a great portion of Sindia's troops, and, with these and his own, had taken up a position near Argaon in the Berars, covering the fortresses of Narnalka and Gawilgarh. Here another severe engagement was fought, in which the Mahrattas were again defeated, and this was followed by the siege and capture of Gawilgarh.

The Mahratta supremacy in the Berars was thus completely broken, and they were then handed over to the Nizam, who was at that time our ally, by the Treaty of Hyderabad, in 1804.

With the successive victories of the British, the constant state of internal warfare to which the southern portion of India had been subjected, for so many centuries gradually ceased, as one district after another was brought under their rule. The result of this was that the more remote parts of the country, and more particularly the Native States, where the means of maintaining order were then, as they are now, by no means on a par with those in the surrounding British territory, were infested with hordes of marauders, who had collected from the wrecks of the disbanded and defeated armies of the neighbouring districts. This was more especially the case with the State of the Deccan, which, as a consequence of the straits to which it had been reduced by the pressure of the Mahrattas, had fallen into a condition of utter

disorganisation and was entirely powerless to control these banditti, who wandered about, desolating the country and defying the authority of the Nizam. The Berars, in particular, on account of its remoteness, became a favourite hunting-ground for these marauders. In addition to this, the Hindus, who were the more numerous, and had been for a long period under the régime of the Mahrattas, the dominant portion of the population, resented their re-subjection to the rule of the Mahomedans.

The consequence of this unsettled state of affairs was that the fact of this Province having been handed over to the Nizam made, for many years, but little difference in his position there, or in any benefit he derived from the gift. It was only by the repeated intervention of the British that the local disturbances were periodically quelled, the rule of the Nizam was re-established, and the repeated incursions of the Pindarees and Rohillas, and of the wild tribes of the Satpuras and neighbouring mountain ranges, were put a stop to.

As late as the year 1849, a serious insurrection of the Hindus occurred, which was only suppressed by the despatch of a strong body of British troops from the garrison at Secundrabad.

What with these difficulties and the incompetency of the Nizam's officials, the finances of the State had, in the year 1853, become so embarrassed, that it was utterly unable to find the means for the maintenance of the Hyderabad Contingent, which was the only force upon which it could rely for keeping the little order that then existed. The Nizam was thus not unwilling to get rid of such a troublesome charge as that of the Berars, and at the same time shift to the British Government the difficulty of providing for the Contingent he was bound by Treaty to maintain, by assigning to the latter the Province of the Berars, for its expenses.

At the time of the original Treaty, in 1853, the revenues of the Nizam's territories had fallen so low that it was found necessary to assign, for the above purpose, a very much larger area than has since been required under British administration, or is now contained within the limits of the "Hyderabad Assigned Districts." Of this a considerable portion was handed back to the Nizam, in return for his loyalty during the Mutiny, by a fresh Treaty, made in 1860, and the present Districts of the Berars only retained.

The revenue of these was then estimated at 32 lakhs, a sum barely sufficient for the purpose required. Since the date of its assignment to the British, the most extraordinary change has come over the Province. From being the haunt of banditti and the scene of every sort of disorder and misrule, it

has become one of the most highly-advanced districts under British rule. Whereas in 1853 no means of communication existed, beyond country roads untraversable for six months in the year during the rainy season, and for the rest traversable only with difficulty by the heavy bullock-carts of the country, the Province is now traversed in all directions by metalled roads with masonry culverts, along the greater part of which one could drive a four-in-hand with perfect ease. These connect all the principal towns and villages with one another and with the line of railway which now crosses the Province at its extreme length from East to West. The population, which, in the year 1860, was estimated at about two millions, had risen at the latest census to nearly three millions.

At Ellichpur, the ancient capital of the Berars, a Municipal Committee holds its monthly meetings in the halls of the ruined palaces of the Moghals, whilst beneath its battlements is heard the murmur of the cotton-gin.

The topics of interest which at present most engage the attention of the elders of the community, as they meet daily at the Public Library and Reading Room, are "the Elective Principle," the "Rights of Man," and other kindred subjects recently discussed at a gathering of the National Congress held in the neighbouring town of Amraoti. In the school hard by the younger members are studying the histories of England, Rome, and Greece, Shakespeare's Plays, Milton and Rasselas.

Such is the extraordinary transformation which is now going on before our eyes amongst what is termed the *educated portion* of the natives of India. Whether or no, as some persons think, this incongruous grafting of Western ideas upon Eastern minds is being too hastily and inconsiderately conducted to be capable of really taking root, and growing up, and bearing good fruit, time alone can show.

In the meantime the ruins of the fortress of Gawilgarh (where only 90 years ago a Rajput garrison gave themselves, their wives and children, to the sword, sooner than surrender to the British) frown grimly down from the crests of the overhanging ranges of the Satpuras upon all these strange innovations, as though to remind us that it is the rougher instincts of human nature which are the most deeply implanted, and that its rocks and ramparts may yet be the scene of conflict, when Municipal Committees and European Libraries have for the time disappeared, or, may be, ceased to exist.

Again, as an index to the strong currents yet stirring under so smooth a surface, come reports of the raids of dacoits, who from time to time dash across the frontier of the neighbouring territory of the Nizam, and hurry back to their lairs,

leaving behind them a route marked by a track of murder and rapine.

So late as a year ago, the attitude of these marauders had become so daring, and their depredations so extensive, that it was found necessary to draw up a scheme for concerted action between the Nizam's officials and those of the British Government to repress them, which resulted in the capture of about 50 or 60 of these desperate characters.

C. E. BIDDULPH.

ARTIX.—BENGAL : ITS CASTES AND CURSES.

(Continued from No. 198, October 1894.)

KULINISM AS INSTITUTED BY KING BALLALA AND AS
REORGANIZED BY DEVIVARA.—(Continued.)

IT is said that when King Ballála instituted *Kulinism*, he found nine principal qualities, or distinctions in those Bráhma-
manas who were made first grade Kulins (*Svabháva Kulins*). These nine qualities are :—

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--|
| 1. আচার (Achara)* | ... Good behaviour, as well as observance of <i>Shas-
tric</i> ceremonies. |
| 2. বিনয় (Vinaya)* ... | ... Good training, as well as modesty, humility. |
| 3. বিদ্যা (Vidyá) ... | ... Learning. |
| 4. প্রীতিষ্ঠা (Pratisthá)* | ... Reputation for good deeds. |
| 5. তীর্থদর্শন (Tītha-darsana)* | Visiting holy places. |
| 6. নিষ্ঠা (Nisthá)* ... | ... Unshaken devotion to God. |
| আবৃত্তি (Avritti) ... | ... Observance of legal marriages. |
| 8. তপঃ (Tapah)* ... | ... Self-control, endurance of sufferings in resignation to God. |
| 9. দান (Dána)* ... | ... Charity. |

Those who were made *Srotriyas* were found wanting in one of these nine qualities, while those who were made *Gauna* Kulins were found wanting in more than one of them. Adherence to the strict law laid down in the *Code of Kulinism* as regards giving and receiving of daughters being afterwards found to be impracticable, the *Svabháva*, or first grade Kulins, had frequently had to contract irregular marriages, and thus, breaking up the integrity of the class, became *Bhanga*† Kulins, or Kulins who fell into a lower state than the absolute Kulins from not having married among their equals. The following are the progressions of the *Bhanga* Kulins :—

(a) The *Svakrita* (self-made) *Bhanga* or the *Ekapurusha Bhanga*.

* Mr. Risley interprets these qualities somewhat differently in his " Tribes and Castes of Bengal " We have, therefore, not adopted his synonyms.

† The word '*Bhanga*' literally means 'broken.'

- (b) The *Svakrita Bhanga Puttra*, or Son of the *Svakrita Bhanga Kulin*.
- (c) The *Tripurusha Bhanga*, or who stands third in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (d) The *Chaturthapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands fourth in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (e) The *Punchamapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands fifth in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (f) The *Shashthapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands sixth in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*.
- (g) The *Saptamapurusha Bhanga*, or who stands seventh in descent from the *Svakrita Bhanga*, and who is commonly known as *Vansaja*.

This progression of degradation is nowhere mentioned in Ballála's *Code of Kulinism*. It was the natural outcome of the law enacted by him. The first step towards degradation is giving daughters to a *Srotriya*, and the end or the *final* is the birth of a *Vansaja* in the seventh generation,* than whom there is, or can be, no being more degraded in the scale of the Bráhmāna society.† Whether King Ballála foresaw this dire result, or not, cannot be said with any degree of certainty. But the fact remains a telling one, and lowers him in our estimation of his foresight as a social reformer. The bases of his law were not sound, for he committed the grand mistake of making *Kulinism* hereditary, knowing, as a sensible man, or a monarch in his position should have been aware, that social laws, when made so binding and stringent, cannot survive the revolution of time. It is simply giving a monopoly to hold a Kulin rank to a few individual families for perpetuity. It is impossible that the nine qualities could exist in the Kulins from generation to generation. It is doubtful whether they existed in perfection in the first recipients of *Kulinism*. The majority of the Kulin Bráhmanas of the present day are a body of illiterate, conceited, and selfish persons, who are a source of shame to the Bráhmāna community. They repeat the *gáyitri* daily without being able to tell what its meaning is. There are, however, honourable exceptions, but their proportion to the whole Bráhmāna community is very small.

* This is accepted as correct by the learned *Pandits* and *Ghatiks*; but, according to some, a *Bhanga Kulin* becomes a *Vansaja* in the fifth generation. Thus we have—"In the fifth generation after the first act by which a Kulin of the first-class has fallen into the second-class, *i.e.*, has become a *Bhanga Kulin*, he falls into the third class (the *Vansaja*)."—C. Hobhouse in *Gazette of India*, 1867, page 283.

† From the time of Devívara, the *Vansajas* have obtained an improved position in the scale of society, and are no longer looked upon with contempt.

When King Ballála instituted *Kulinism*, he took care to separate the original Bráhmaṇas of Bengal, consisting of 700 families (*saptasatī*), and prohibited intermarriage between them and his own favourites.

The names of the first recipients of the honours of first grade *Kulinism* are given below :—

<i>Gotra.</i> Káśyapa	<i>Vansa or family.</i> 1. Chatta	<i>Names of recipients.</i> 1. Vahurúpa. 2. Sukha. 3. Aravinda. 4. Haláyudha. 5. Bángála. 6. Govardhanácharya. 7. Siva. 8. Kánu. 9. Kutúhala. 10. Sisú. 11. Roshákara. 12. Mahesvara. 13. Jáhlana. 14. Devala. 15. Vámana. 16. I'sána. 17. Makaranda. 18. Útsáha. 19. Garuda.
2. Vátsya	2. Putitunda 3. Ghosála 4. Kánjilála	
3. Sávarna	5. Gánguli 6. Kundagrámí	
4. Sándilya	7. Vandyá	
5. Bharádvāja	8. Mukhatí	

Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his "History of Civilization in Ancient India," (vol. iii, page 246), supposes "that Ballála only gave his sanction to distinctions and rules which had already grown up among the different classes of Bráhmaṇas and Káyasthas." But the records of the institution of *Kulinism*, which have come down to us, speak otherwise, and clearly fix upon him the responsibility of having been the originator of the institution.

Ballála Sena was succeeded by his son Lakshmana Sena. Following in the footprints of his father, he too introduced certain social changes among the Radhí Bráhmaṇas, by creating separate sub-divisions of the descendants of the five original Bráhmaṇas, according to their distance from the five patriarchs, and according to the degree of religious observances among them. This adjustment is known by the term *Samikarana*.

It is an historical fact that Lakshmaniya* was the last independent king of Gauda. During the latter part of his reign, the Mahomedans, under Bukhtear Khiliji, attacked him in his palace, and the old and weak monarch at once fled the capital without even a show of resistance (A.D. 1198).

* The correct name of this prince is Lakshmana Sena, *alias* Asoka Sena. He was the fifth in descent from Ballála. The Manommedan writers call him Lakshmaniya, through contempt for his weakness and cowardice.

Bengal thus fell into the hands of the followers of Islamism without a struggle. We are not at all surprised at this, for both Ballála and his successors were weak princes, who passed a good deal of their time in making social innovations, bestowing honours and grants on Bráhmaṇas, degrading the Vaisyas to the level of the Súdras, and exalting the social status of the Káyasthas. The records of their reign, both written and traditional, which have come down to us, do not at all show that they ever made any reforms in their army, or bestowed any honours on those who distinguished themselves by military achievements, if such ever took place during their reign. Among the ancient A'ryas the Bráhmaṇas, it is true, were respected as gods, but the Kshatriyas, and the Vaisyas too, were honoured and allowed privileges denied to their descendants in later times. A nation's fall is not the work of a day. We cannot suppose that Bukhtear Khiliji 'came and saw and conquered,' unless we suppose, at the same time, that the Hindu monarchy in Bengal was a mere shadow and had lost its vitality. The monarchs of Bengal busied themselves in making social innovations when the Moslems were thundering at the gates of Hindustan and had already gained a footing in Western India. It is no wonder that the fate of Bengal should have been sealed in a hundred years from King Ballála's reign.

The institution of *Kulinism* established by Ballála continued unchanged for about four hundred years,* when, in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, Devívara† re-organized the whole fabric of the institution. He introduced 36 *mels*, or consociations, among the Radhí Bráhmaṇas, of which a list is given below :—

- | | | |
|---------------------|------------------------|--|
| 1. Fulia. | 14. Mádhái. | 25. Ráya. |
| 2. Knaddaha. | 15. Vidyádhari. | 26. Chhattaíghavi. |
| 3. Ballabhi. | 16. Parial or Parihal. | 27. Dehātiya or Dehattí. |
| 4. Sarvánandí. | 17. Srírangabhattí. | 28. Chhayí. |
| 5. Surai. | 18. Máláddharakhani. | 29. Bhairavaghatki. |
| 6. Acháryasekharí. | 19. Kákusthí. | 30. Achamvita. |
| 7. Panditaratní. | 20. Harimajumdari. | 31. Dharádhari. |
| 8. Bāngalapása. | 21. Srimantakhani. | 32. Rāghavaghosáli. |
| 9. Gopálaghatki. | 22. Pramodini. | 33. Sungasarvánandí. |
| 10. Chháýánarendrí. | 23. Dasaráthghaṭki. | 34. Satánandakhani
(or Sadánandakhani). |
| 11. Bijayapandití. | 24. Subháríjkhani. | 35. Chandrapati (or
Chandravati). |
| 12. Chándai. | 25. Nadiya. | 36. Balf. |

* It is said that, in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Christian era, Rája Danuja Raya, *alias* Danauja Mádhava, made certain changes in *Kulinism*, but they did not continue long.

† Devívara was a contemporary of Chaitanya, the great Vaishnava reformer of Nadiá (Navadvipa). His father was Sarvánanda* Ghatak, who, as a Vaisya, carried on the profession of a *Ghatak*. Devívara followed the occupation of his father.

Some branch *mels*, such as, Srivardhaní, Siddhantí, Theká, Nijanarendrí, &c., have since been created after Devívara.

The *mels* were created according to the degree of blemishes, or faults, attached to each family; and, although now, and then modified, they remain intact to the present day. In consultation with other *Ghataks* of his time, Devívara permitted the Radhí Kulins to contract marriages in three ways, which are technically called আর্তি (Artti), ক্শেম্যক (Kshemyaka), and উচিত (Uchita). *Addna* and *pradana** with persons of the father's *paryaya*† are called *Artti*; those with persons of the son's *paryaya* are called *Kshemyaka*; while those with persons of equal *paryaya* are known by the term *Uchita*. Of these, *Artti kul* stands, as it were, an ornament of the head, *Kshemyaka* an ornament of the foot, while the *Uchita* is neither the one nor the other, and is deemed what is proper.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the reforms which Devívara made among the Radhí Bráhmans. Suffice it to say that, according to Devívara's regulations, all the blemishes or faults of a particular family disappear, if it can connect itself by *addna* or *pradana* with a pure Kulin family. It is only when a pure Kulin gives his daughters to a Srotriya, that he falls off from his rank and becomes a *Vansaja*. Before the time of Devívara, the position of the Vansaja was a very degraded one, but as Devívara himself was a Vansaja, he assigned to the Vansaja a position just below the Kulins and above the Srotriyas, which he retains till the seventh generation, when he stands on the same level with the Srotriyas.

About a hundred years before Devívara, the celebrated Udayanáchárya Bhádudí thoroughly re-organised the institution of *Kulinism* among the Várendra Bráhmans. He was assisted in his labours by Kullúka Bhatta, Mayúra Bhatta, and Mangala Ojhá. Briefly stated, his reforms were that the Kulins should reciprocally make *addna* and *pradana*, and might take in Srotriya daughters, but could not give their own daughters to Srotriyas. The *addna* and *pradana* among the Kulins is technically called *purivartta-maryáda*. At the time of making promises both parties are enjoined to go to the river side, or to a lake or pond, attended by relatives and friends and by the *Ghatak*, and there ratify them by touching an earthen jug (কলশ) filled with water, which is afterwards sunk into the water. This is technically called *addna-pradana bishayaka-karana*.

* *Addna* (অর্পণ) is taking or receiving girls, and *pradana* (প্রদান) is giving away girls.

† *Paryaya* is the degree in which the descendants of a particular person, or persons, stand to each other.

Udayanāchārya divided the Vārendra Kulins into eight branches or *batīs*. They are :—

- | | |
|-----------------|----------------|
| 1. Nuāvila. | 5. Veni. |
| 2. Bhusanā. | 6. Alékhānī. |
| 3. Rohilā. | 7. Kutubkhanī. |
| 4. Bhavanīpura. | 8. Jonālī. |

He strictly forbade all communication with the *kāps*.* But the rigidity of this rule was afterwards relaxed by Rājā Kansanārāyana.

The Vārendra families, which received the honours of *Kulinism* at the hands of King Ballāla, are—

- | | |
|------------|----------------|
| 1. Rudra. | 4. Maitra. |
| 2. Sādhu. | 5. Bhāduđī. |
| 3. Lāhīđī. | 6. Sungjāminī. |
| 7. Bhīma. | |

The Radhī and the Vārendra Brāhmanas are both descendants of the five Brāhmanas who came to Bengal at the invitation of A'disūra, as their *gotras* and traditions show, but there is no *adāna-pradāna* between them. This is what it should not be.

There is a tendency observable on the part of the Radhī Brāhmanas to treat the Vārendras as not of their kiths and kins. They say that outside the pale of the five *gotras* and fifty-six *gnādis* there are no Brāhmanas at all. This proud assertion cannot be too strongly reprehended. It is this spirit of disunion and dissension which has proved a curse, not only to Bengal, but to the whole continent of India.

THE KṢHATRIYAS.

Next to the Brāhmanas stand the Kshatriyas in the scale of society. According to Manu, the duties of a Kshatriya are "to protect the people, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Vedas), and to abstain from attaching himself to sensual pleasures."† Very little of these duties are, or can be, performed by the Kshatriyas of the present day. The destiny of India has long passed away from the hands of the A'ryas, and with it the duty of protecting the people. It is said that there are no Kshatriyas in the *Kali Yuga*, they having been extirpated by Parasurāma in twenty-one engagements and in the affray of the Yādavas. But this is not admitted by all, nor can it be accepted as an historical fact. There can be no question that there are Kshatriyas at the present day, descendants of those mighty warriors and chiefs who were at one time the pride of the country, though they, too, like the Brāhmanas, have betaken themselves to professions foreign to

* Among the Vārendra Brāhmanas, the *kāps* hold a position similar to that held by the *Ansājas* among the Radhī Brāhmanas.

† Manu, Chap. I., verse 9.

their caste. The Kshatriyas of the present day trace their descent from the following celebrated families :—

<i>Family.</i>	<i>Place.</i>
Súrya vansa (solar race)...	... Ajodhyá (Oudh).
Chandra vansa (lunar race)	... Magadha (Behar).
Yadu vansa ...	... Mathura and Dwarká.
Nága vansa	Sindhu (Sind).
Agnikul	Rajasthána.
Ráthore	Ujjayiní (Oujein).
Kuru vansa	Hastina (Delhi).
Garga vansa	Rilwar (Úlwar ?)
Ranakul	Udayapura (Oodeypore).

These families are reckoned as Kulins possessing the highest pedigree in the scale of the Kshatriya society.

Properly speaking, there are no Bengali-Kshatriyas, like Bengali-Bráhmanas, although the number of Kshatriya families permanently domiciled in Bengal may be considerable.

When Mahárájá Krishna Chandra Ráya, of Nadiá, performed the celebrated *Agnihotra* and *Bajapeya yajná*, about 140 years ago, he presented *Mályá-chandana* * to one Virendra Sinha Varmana, son of a certain relative of Mahárájá Tilukchand of Burdwan. This fact proves that there are Kshatriyas in Bengal and recognised as the second caste in the scale of society. But many of such Kshatriyas are disowned by their countrymen in Western India. The Mahárájá of Burdwan, a real Kshatriya, hailing from the Punjab, with all his wealth and high position, finds it difficult at times to contract alliances with the high families of the Upper Provinces. But this does not prove that there is any lack of pure and high Kshatriya families in the ranks of the Bengali society. Migration from one part of the country to another, from one province to another, or from the North-West to the low swampy but rich lands of Bengal Proper, is always easy and natural. The chief causes that lead people to move out of their homes for 'fresh fields and pastures new' are over-population, struggle for life, poverty, a spirit of adventure, or an ambition to rise in the world. It is against nature to suppose that these motives were not in operation in shaping the action of any other class of people than the Bráhmanas and Súdras, or that they were not the same active factors in instigating the movements of the Kshatriyas or the Vaisyas. The theory that when Bengal emerged from the sea and

* This *yajná*, or sacrifice performed according to the Vedic rites, was celebrated at a total cost of 20 lakhs of rupees. All the learned Pandits of Bengal and of other provinces of India were invited to partake of their share of gifts and presents. It is customary in a sacrifice of this kind to honour the representatives of each of the three higher castes with presentation of *mályá* (garland of flowers) and *chandana* (sandal wood, rubbed) in the presence of the congregated assembly.

became fit for human habitation, it was populated only by the Bráhmānas and Súdras, and not by Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, is at once preposterous and unnatural. That of the castes that make up the population of Bengal, the Bráhmānas and Súdras were alone driven out of their nest in the Upper Provinces, and that Kshatriyas and Vaisyas were under an embargo, or not at liberty to move to and live in Bengal, is an assertion that must be dismissed as utterly incredible and foolish. On the other hand, it is an indisputable fact that traditions and scraps of history that have come down from remote times prove that Kshatriyas and Vaisyas formed principal elements of the Bengali population, and that the pure Súdra class was hardly in existence, or bore any great proportion to the other three classes, * and that the Súdras that we at present see as the bulk of the population were originally Vaisyas, and that the causes that have led to their degradation and effacement as a distinct class from the stock of the original castes are artificial and imaginary. We shall endeavour to show how, step by step, they became merged in the Súdra class, and the name of Vaisyas was effaced from their descendants. The Chattris differ from the Kshatriyas. They assert, at least some of them maintain, that they are superior to the Kshatriya class, though they do not deny that they belong to the category of the second twice-born caste. But without entering in the merits of this social dispute among a certain class of people, we may state, as a fact, that in Bengal the Chattri class forms but an insignificant portion of the population. The distinguished family of the Roys of Chakdighi, whose first patriarch rose to opulence from the post of a Police Jamádar of the Jehanabad Tháná, is one of the few families of Chattris who consider themselves distinguished from, and superior to, Kshatriyas. We have only to refer to the ranks of the army, and the immense body of durwans and keepers of the watch and guardians of peace, and heroes of petty skirmishes engaged in the service of the Rájás, Zamindárs, Nobles and the middle class families of Bengal, to prove that the proportion of Kshatriyas including Chattris, to the bulk of the population, is not so little as it is supposed by certain theorists.

THE VAIŚYAS.

According to Manu the duties of a Vaisya are "to tend cattle, to bestow gifts, to offer sacrifices, to study (the Vedas), to trade, to lend money, and to cultivate land." †

* It is a question whether the pure Súdra class ever existed in Bengal. In the North-Western Provinces, it is said there are no Súdras, or at least the name Súdra is not recognized or used. Who the pure Súdras originally were is rather difficult to determine.

† Manu, Chap. I., verse 90.

The Bráhmaṇas say that in the *Kali Yuga* there are no Kshatriya and Vaisya castes at all, all classes of people other than themselves being Súdras. The cause of this bold and vain-glorious assertion is not far to seek and find out. During the Pauranik Period (500 A.D. to 1200 A.D.), when Buddhism showed indelible signs of decay and ultimately succumbed, being driven out of the country, the Bráhmaṇas once more regained their ancient rights and ascendancy, and, in their zeal to keep the people in thralldom, so that they might not again become renegades from the Hindu religion, they proclaimed that "all who were not Bráhmaṇas were Súdras; that none but Bráhmaṇas were entitled to religious knowledge, or could perform sacred rites, or wear the sacred thread."* Various Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas were mainly written at this time to supply a coarse form of religious knowledge to the people, and ancient stories and legends artfully incorporated in them to divert their mind from true knowledge, which was once their heritage in common with the Bráhmaṇas. The Bráhmaṇas had the law in their hands, which they altered, or interpreted, according to their own pleasure. The Vaisyas were dragged to the court of law for reciting the Vedic texts, and there punished for transgressing the law. The Institutes of Manu were, in theory, accepted as the fountain of all law, civil and religious, but, in practice, trampled under the feet. Spurious digests of law were prepared and promulgated, and spurious passages artfully interwoven, to prove the transcendental superiority of the Bráhmaṇas, on the one hand, and the degradation of the Vaisyas, on the other. The Bráhma-Vaivartta and other Purāṇas, which are undoubtedly the productions of later times, give a quite different version from Manu of the origin of the various mixed castes, and tell us long stories of evils befalling Rájás or Princes from the wrath of Bráhmaṇas offended knowingly or unknowingly. To the Vaisyas of Manu, a position equal to, or lower than, the Súdras, was assigned, and a higher one to certain mixed classes. The Mahomedan conquest of the country completed the downfall of the nation, and, like the Kshatriya, the Vaisya class too was treated as *non est*.

This picture of the social and moral degradation of the people is not ideal. The more we examine the history of the Pauranik Period, especially of the later times, the more we are convinced of the guiles of the Bráhmaṇas to degrade the people, especially the independent class, socially and morally. We have already said that we cannot admit that, when the country now known as Bengal was first settled by the A'ryas, it was the Bráhmaṇas and Súdras only who came and dwelt there. The

* R. C. Dutt's "Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. III., page 498.

very economy of society required that Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, too, should accompany the migration. We cannot suppose that the fields of Bengal yielded harvests without manure and toil on the part of the cultivators, who, as we have seen before, were no other than the Vaisyas. We cannot suppose that there were none to rear and tend the cattle—a duty which, according to Manu, was the exclusive right of the Vaisyas. We cannot suppose, also, that there were no merchants, dealers in gold and jewels, and cloth and perfumes, and condiments. It is absurd to say that there are no Vaisyas in the present age. It may be, as is very often said, that there were Vaisyas in past times, but that they have ceased to be so now, and have merged in the Súdra class. We cannot admit this proposition without admitting, at the same time, that the Vaisyas have been robbed of their rights and privileges by a ruthless hand—by an act of Vandalism, which surpasses in cruelty all the slave-trade of Africa and America! That Vaisyas there were and still are cannot be questioned. We know that in Hindustan Proper there are Vaisyas who still wear the sacred thread and are reckoned among the twice-born castes. The reverse is the case in Bengal, where they are not so reckoned.

The fundamental principle on which Manu based his legislation in respect to the classification of the A'ryas was fixity and immutability of the organism into which he divided the four primary castes. He ordained that each caste must stand by itself distinct and separate from the other. The rules he prescribed for the social observance of each, and the law of marriage that he enacted for them all, must be strictly adhered to. Each caste must confine itself to certain professions that he had assigned to it, and his laws must not be deviated from on pain of forfeiture of the status which belonged to the caste. He ordained that the Bráhmans shall teach and study the Veda, sacrifice for his own benefit and for others, and give and accept alms, and shall also be the spiritual head of the nation. The Kshatriya must protect the people and exercise the military duties with precision: he must be the guardian of public peace, and must protect the country against foreign invasion or internecine warfare. To the Vaisyas were assigned certain professions which they must follow; and he defined those professions in a way that left no room for doubt or debate. There may be divisions of labour in the exercise of a particular profession, but the rule was that the duties of those divisions should be performed by the people of the same caste, who may remain as a separate and distinct class. Service to all the three superior castes was the lot given to the Súdras. Why Manu banished them to this low and

degraded position is a problem that has not yet been solved. We may refer to the question hereafter, but at present we are concerned with the Vaisyas, and we find the immutable rule to be that, once a Bráhmāna, he will remain a Bráhmāna for ever. He does not lose his caste whether he is able to utter the Vedas or not. A Kshetriya will remain a Kshatriya, whether he can wield his arrows or not, or use his *tira-dhanuka* * or not. In the same way a Vaisya will remain a Vaisya, whether he follow his profession or not. A Vaisya, for instance, who is an agriculturist, will remain a Vaisya, whether he tilled the field or not. The Vaisyas may be divided into sub-castes, but whether they lend money, or carry on a particular trade, or produce a particular ware, they will remain Vaisyas for ever. Persons of other castes will not be recognised as Vaisyas if they usurp a profession that belonged to the Vaisyas. Thus a Vaisya whose first ancestor started a particular profession clings to that profession from generation to generation, and thus the several professions became hereditary and were crystallised into a distinct and separate class, or division, but Vaisyas they remained whether a Sad-gópa, or Bania, or a Tántuváya in profession. The Vaisyas are competent to adopt the following professions, which we give here from the ninth chapter of the Mánava-Dharma-Shútra :—

প্রজাপতির্হি বৈশ্যায় অষ্টোপনিদদে পশুন্ ।
 ব্রাহ্মণাঞ্চ রাজে চ সর্কঃ পরিদদে প্রজাঃ ॥
 নচবৈশ্যস্যকামঃ সাগ্নরক্কেয়শ্চুনিতি ।
 বৈশ্যেচেচ্ছতি নাত্তেনরক্ষিতবাঃ কথংচন ॥
 গণিমুক্তাপ্রবালানাং লোহানাস্তাস্তৃপাচ ।
 গন্ধানাং চ রসানাং চ বিদ্যাদর্শবলাবলম্ ॥
 বীজানামুণ্ডিবিষ্টিম্যাং ক্ষেত্রদোষগুণম্যচ ।
 মানযোগং চ জ্ঞানীয়াস্তুলাযোগাংশ্চ সর্কশঃ ॥
 সারাসারং চ ভাণানান্দেধানাং চ গুণাগুণান্ ।
 লাভালাভং চ পণ্যানাম্পশুনাম্পরিবর্জনম্ ॥
 ভৃত্যানাং চ ভূতিং বিদ্যাভাষাশ্চ বিবিধানৃণাম্ ।
 দ্রব্যানাং স্থানযোগাংশ্চ ক্রয়বিক্রয়মেবচ† ॥

.Prajápati made over cattle to the Vaisyas : to the Bráhmānas and to the King he entrusted all created beings. A Vaisya must never conceive the wish, 'I will not keep cattle,' nor, he being willing to keep them, must they by any means be kept by men of another class. He must know the respective value of gems, of pearls, of coral, of

* *Tira*=arrow and *dhanuka*=bow. † Manu, Chap. IX. verses 327-332

metals, of (cloth) made of thread, of perfumes, and of condiments. He must be acquainted with the (manner of) sowing of seeds, and of the good and bad qualities of fields, and he must perfectly know all measures and weights. Moreover, the excellence and defects of commodities, the advantages and disadvantages of (different) countries, the (probable) profit and loss on merchandise, and the means of properly rearing cattle. He must be acquainted with the (proper) wages of servants, with the various languages of men, with the manner of keeping goods, and (the rules of) purchase and sale.

These passages clearly define the duties of the Vaisya class, and we are enabled, with their help, to ascertain who the Vaisyas are in Bengal at the present day. Accordingly we find that the Sadgópas, the various classes of the Vaniks, and the Tántuváyas, whose original professions answer to the duties assigned by Manu to the Vaisyas, belong to the third twice-born caste. The cultivation of land and the keeping of cattle are the duties primarily assigned to the Sadgópas, who, in Bengal, represent a portion of the Vaisya caste, though those duties are now performed by other classes of people, such as the Hélé Kaivarttas, Chandálas, &c. It matters not *now-a-days* whether a Sadgópa follows his original profession or not. He is by birth a Sadgópa, and, therefore, belongs to a family of which the first patriarchs were Vaisyas, according to Manu's definition of the term, no matter how he earns his livelihood, whether by tilling the land, by lending money at interest, or by practising the medical profession, just as a Bráhmāna or a Kshatriya is at liberty to do the same. The same remarks apply to the several classes of the Vaniks* and the Tántuváyas,† who, with the Sadgópas, form the great Vaisya caste of Bengal. In the primitive state of the Aryan society, some of its members were, no doubt, obliged, for its welfare, or economy, to betake themselves to various professions, and their descendants, from generation to generation, were named after the particular profession, or professions, they chose to adopt. Under the Hindu monarchy, these professions, as a general rule, were respectively followed by the different branches of the Vaisya caste, but a change—a mighty change—came on with the establishment of the foreign rule, when the members of the four principal castes, out of sheer necessity, or self-interest, betook themselves to professions other than those followed by

* The several classes of Vaniks are Manivaniks, Suvarnavaniks, Gandhavaniks, Kansyavaniks and Sankhavaniks. Of these, Manivaniks are those who carry on trade in gems, pearls, coral, &c.; Suvarnavaniks, those who deal in gold and silver; Gandhavaniks, those who carry on trade in spices, condiments, &c.; Kansyavaniks, those who deal in Kánsya (Kánsa, or bell metal), and are commonly known as Kánsaris; and Sankhavaniks, those who deal in conches, shells, &c.

† Weaver caste of Bengal.

their ancestors.* Thus we find a Bráhmāna carrying on the professions of a Vaisya, or even worse than that, selling of wines and spirituous liquors; a Kshatriya also doing the same to obtain his livelihood; and a Vaisya or one class following the profession of another class. A Sadgōpa, for instance, is seen rearing silk-worms and selling-silk, or carrying on trade in cloth, once the exclusive profession of a Tántuvāya, and *vice versa*. As regards the Tántuvāyas, it may be said that their profession is coeval with the first dawn of civilisation among the A'ryas, long before any mercantile classes were formed among them. In fact it is cloth, in whatever form woven or used at first, that distinguished an A'rya from a barbarian. We need not here go the length of proving that the A'ryas, as a civilised people, wore clothes to cover the nudity of their body, which the barbarians do by stitching up leaves, or bark of trees and skin of animals. In the passages we have quoted from Manu, a part of the Vaisya's duty is described as knowing the value of cloth made of thread. The word 'তন্তু' (*tanu*) means a filament, or thread, either of cotton, or of silk, and the derivative 'তান্তব' (*tántava*) means what is made of thread, *i. e.*, cloth. A তন্তবায় (*Tántuvāya*) is, therefore, one who prepares, or manufactures, cloth of cotton, or silk, and sells it in the market. In process of time, the Tántuvāyas established cloth-markets and carried on trade in cloth and silk.

We will further quote from Manu one or two other passages, showing that the great legislator included the Tántuvāyas in the Vaisya class. In the first place, he does not mention them in his almost exhaustive list of mixed castes, and it is proof positive, that they do not come under any such castes. They do not also come under the Súdra caste, as his mention of Tántuvāya's profession in the category of the Vaisya's duties clearly proves. The only verse in which the Tántuvāya is expressly mentioned is the following:—

তন্তুবায়োদশপলন্দদ্যাদেকপলাধিকম্ ।

অতোহন,থাবর্তমানোদাপোষাদশকন্দম্ ॥

Manu, Chap VIII., verse 397.

"A weaver (who has received) ten palas (of thread) shall return (cloth weighing) one pala more; he who acts differently, shall be compelled to pay a fine of twelve (panas)."—Bühler.

Now a *pana*, or *kārshapana*, is made of eighty *raktics* of copper (a *raktica* being equal to three middle-sized barleycorns in weight).† Twelve *panas*; therefore, seem to be a very light fine

* Instances are not wanting of persons of one caste adopting the profession of another, even during the Hindu monarchy. Thus we read in the Mahabhārata that Dronācharya, a Bráhmāna by birth, and his son Asvatthāmā, carried on the profession of a Kshatriya, *i. e.*, of arms.

† See Manu, Chap. VIII. verses 134-136.

for the offence which a strict lawgiver like Manu would not have prescribed for a Súdra, or a base-born person, had the weaver been such a one ; but being a Vaisya, a light punishment was prescribed.* Again, we are told in Chapter X. of the *Mánava-Dharma-Shástra* that in times of distress a Bráhmāna, or a Kshatriya, obliged to subsist by the acts of a Vaisya, must avoid selling—

সর্ব্বং তাস্তবং রক্তং শাগকৌমাৰিকানিচ । •

অপিচেৎস্ব্যরক্তানি * * * * ।

“ All woven cloth dyed red, cloth made of *sana*, of *kshuma* bark and of wool, even though not red ;”

This conclusively proves that a Vaisya is competent to sell woven cloth dyed red, cloth made of *sana* (hemp or flax), &c., which a Bráhmāna, or a Kshatriya, adopting the profession of the mercantile class, is prohibited from selling. The word ‘Vaisya’ is a general term, including different classes of people, each carrying on a part of the duties assigned to the whole Vaisya caste, and the *Tántuváya* is avowedly one of them. Cloth-manufacture cannot be considered a handicraft, or an art, by which a Súdra is recommended by Manu to support himself in times of distress, and these terms† are interpreted by the learned and able commentator Kullúka Bhatta to mean *joinery* and *masonry* and *painting* and *writing*, respectively.

The art of weaving is, therefore, an occupation of the Vaisyas according to Manu, and the selling of cloth a duty of that caste.

Again, the collection of wealth by a Súdra is strictly prohibited by Manu (Chap. X., verse 129), and therefore trade in cloth, which is undoubtedly a lucrative one, must be held to be the occupation of a Vaisya. The *Tántuváyas*, who, from time immemorial up to the close of the last century, had almost the monopoly of such trade in this country, belong, therefore, not to the Súdra, or any servile caste, but are component members of the great Vaisya class.

In the following pages we will show how the Vaisyas were deprived of their ancient rights and privileges, and how certain mixed classes were permitted to go ahead of them.

* Manu's partiality for the three twice-born castes is well known to every reader of the *Mánava-Dharma-Shástra*. Thus, a soldier defaming a priest shall be fined a hundred *panas* ; a merchant thus offending, a hundred and fifty or two hundred ; but for such an offence, a mechanic or servile man shall be whipped. A priest shall be fined fifty *panas*, if he slander a soldier ; twenty-five if a merchant ; and twelve, if he slander a man of the servile class.—Manu, Chap. VIII., verses 267 and 268.

† The terms used by Manu are *কীর্ত্তব্য* and *শিল্প*, of which the English equivalents are mechanical occupations and practical arts. *Joinery* and *masonry* come under the first, and *painting* and *writing* under the second.

And first of all the Sadgópas, who, we have shown before, belong to the Vaisya caste. Their occupation was, from time immemorial—and is still now, to a great extent—the cultivation of land. In Central Bengal a good many of them are engaged in rearing silk-worms and selling raw silk, which was once done by the Tántuváyas. Many of the Sadgópas are well-to-do people, who, in course of time, have relinquished the tillage of land, and, betaking themselves to other branches of the duties assigned to the Vaisyas, such as lending money at interest, merchandise, &c., have risen to opulence. They count among them many rich Zamindárs and Rájás. Pandit Bharata Chandra Siromani, late Professor of *Smṛiti-shástra*, Sanskrit College, Calcutta, has expressed the following opinion regarding the Sadgópas :—"They are Vaisyas. Religious and political revolutions have made them Súdras. In the *Shástras* they are not spoken of as a mixed class. They follow all along the occupation of Vaisyas. Had there risen among them an influential Rájá, like the Rájá Rájvallabha, they would surely have remained complete Vaisyas. There is no doubt whatever that they belong to the Vaisya caste."

This language is clear enough. Pandit Bharata Chandra Siromani may, or may not, be considered as an authority in the present age, but as he has interpreted the true status of the Sadgópas from the *Shástras*, we do not hesitate to accept his opinion as really correct. The Sadgópas are now classed among the *Navasáyakas* (nine classes of people who are said to have helped Parasuráma in his twenty-one engagements against the Kshatriyas), and are treated as Súdras. During the Pauranik Period the Sadgópas were, no doubt, divested of their Vaisyaism, owing, probably to their neglect of the duties prescribed for them in the *Shástras*. Education is now spreading among them, and the time may come when they will, with the other classes of Vaisyas, regain their lost privileges—the privileges of Vaisyas as a twice-born caste. Mahárája, Krishna Chandra Ráya, of Nadiá, when performing his celebrated *yajñ*, alluded to before, presented *málya* and *chandana* to one Narottama Pál, a Sadgópa by birth, as a representative of the Vaisya caste.

The Sadgópas are divided into two sub-castes—the *Paschim kuliya*, who live to the west of the river Bhágirathi, and the *Purva kuliya*, who live on the east side of that river. Of late, intermarriages have commenced to take place between these two groups, who have hitherto remained separate from each other.

The Sadgópas are generally spoken of as *Chásá*.* Their

* The word '*chásá*' literally means a ploughman. The term is now frequently applied to persons who are rough in their manners and conversation, and who lack the light of education.

family appellations, or titles, are Bákundi, Biswás, Dás, Ghosh, Kour, Néggy, Pál, Sarkár, Sur.

We shall next cite the instance of the Suvarnavaniks (Sonarbanias) who undoubtedly belong to the Vaisya caste, but who have, since the days of Ballála, been forcibly and improperly banished* from the rank and position of Vaisyas, and who are at the present day treated by other castes as defiled and impure, and therefore unworthy to be touched.* In order to understand clearly their degraded position, it is necessary to go back about nine hundred years, when the Suvarnavaniks are said to have first come to Bengal and settled there.

There lived at Ramgarh, in Oude, a number of Vaisyas, of whom one Kusala Chandra Adhya, a millionaire, had three sons, named Sanaka, Sanátana, and Sanatkumára, who respectively carried on trade in gold, jewels, and perfumes and condiments. At that time Buddhism, though in a declining state, was still followed throughout the length and breadth of the country, and a good many of Sanaka's relatives were Buddhists. Sanaka, who was learned in the Vedas, finding it impossible to live amongst relatives who professed a religion quite opposed to his own, left his native land, accompanied by his wife Barátiká, by his family priest (*purohita*), by some of his kinsmen and friends who were of his own religion, and by a number of armed men. Having visited several holy places, he at last came to Bengal, and paid his respects to King Adisúra and expressed a desire to live in his kingdom. Adisúra, who hated Buddhism, very gladly acceded to the request of Sanaka, permitted him to settle on the banks of the river Bráhmáputra, where Sanaka freely carried on trade in gold and silver with merchants of Arakan, Burma, China, and other countries, and very soon turned the place of his settlement into a wealthy and prosperous town. Adisúra, who was very much pleased to hear of Sanaka's success as a merchant, soon honoured him and his kinsmen with the title of Suvarnavanik† in a copper-plate grant, and called the town, founded by Sanaka, 'Suvarnagrám.' He also sought Sanaka's advice on many affairs of the State. It was at the advice of Sanaka that King Adisúra invited the five Bráhmānas learned in the Vedas from Kanouj.

* So great is the degradation that one who touches the shadow of a Sonarbania is bound to bathe and purge the sin. সোনারবেনের ছায়া মাড়াইলে স্নান করিতে হয়।

† “স্বর্ণবাণিজ্যকারিহাদ্রস্থিতবিশাং ময়া।

স্বর্ণবাণিজ্যত্যাগ্য দত্তা সম্মানরুদ্ধয়ে ॥”

“In honour of the Vishas (Vaisyas), who carry on trade in gold at this place, I confer on them the title of Suvarnavanik.”

More than a century after, when King Ballála ascended the throne of Gauda, he carried on an expedition against the Manipur State. Before the commencement of the operations, Ballála's exchequer was rather low, and he was, therefore, obliged to take twenty lakhs of rupees on loan from one Ballabhánanda Adhya, a descendant of Sanaka, who was at that time master of fourteen crores of rupees. The expedition against the Manipuris having proved a failure, Ballála was again obliged to take five lakhs more from him, on condition of bringing the expedition to an end and of not taking any more loan. Ballabhánanda complied with the second request of the king. But fate decreed otherwise. Renewed attempts against the Manipuris having again proved a failure, Ballála was obliged a third time to ask for a loan of five lakhs more. Ballabhánanda, not only declined to comply with the request of the king, but wrote, in reply, that the king had committed a sinful act by not fulfilling his promises; that it was a pure act of fortune that an Ambastha* should get a kingdom; that it was for the Kshatriyas only to carry on wars; that the present operations (against the Manipuris) were irreligious; and that, therefore, the king had better bring them to an end. This bold reply on the part of Ballabhánanda incensed Ballála against the Suvarnavaniks, whom he determined to punish for the overbearing conduct of their leader. Moreover, Ballála had married, or rather had in his keeping, a very beautiful damsel of the *Dóm* class,† named Padminí, and a number of Suvarnavanik youngsters played a farce in which the queen appeared in her regal dress with a number of reeds in her hand preparing a basket. This conduct on the part of the Suvarnavaniks further enkindled Ballála's wrath against them. Further the institution of *Kulinism* created by Ballála, and his division of castes according to his own whims, were not approved by the Suvarnavaniks. Again, the Vaidik Bráhmanas, who refused to be classified by a Vaidya, retired to the hill countries of Sylhet and Orissa, and some of them found refuge with the Suvarnavaniks. When Ballála's intrigues with the *Dóm* girl became known throughout the country, Prince Lakshmana Sena became very much aggrieved at his father's conduct, and not being able to bring him to his senses, at last separated himself from the father, and ordered the Vaidyas to put off their sacred thread, so that they might

* An Ambastha is a Vaidya born of a Bráhmana father and Vaisya mother. The allusion is to the mixed class to which Ballála belonged.

† The *Dóms* are a very low class of people not worthy to be touched by persons of twice-born classes. Their principal occupation is preparing baskets, dhama, dhuchuni, &c.

not come in contact with the Vaidyas who still adhered to the king. Ballála at last came to his senses, discarded the *Dóni* girl, and made atonement for his sins by performing a *yajñ*, in which the four principal castes were invited. The Suvarnavaniks, thinking that the king's sins were inexcusable, did not, on some pretext or other, obey the royal invitation. When Ballála found that the Suvarnavaniks were the only class of his subjects absent from the *yajñ*, his rage knew no bounds. He exclaimed the following words in the presence of the assembly: "Know, ye Brahmanas! my resolution that, if I do not enrol Ballábhānanda and other Suvarnavaniks amongst the low class of people, then the sin of killing a cow, a Bráhmaṇa, and a female, will be mine. As Bhíma Sena made a resolution to destroy the hundred sons of Dhritarāshtra, so my resolution be known to you all."* Henceforth Ballála sought for pretexts to bring the Suvarnavaniks within his clutches, and opportunities soon presented themselves for the fulfilment of his nefarious object. The author of "Ballála-Charita" says, that at the sacrifice performed by the king for the atonement of sins committed by him in taking the hand of the *Dóni* girl, a number of small cows made of gold were wrought out for the purpose of making gifts to Bráhmaṇas. By a pre-arrangement, one of these cows had in its womb a quantity of water tinged with lac-dye. The Bráhmaṇa who got this cow soon repaired to a Suvarnavanik for the purpose of selling it. The Suvarnavanik at once commenced examining it by striking it with an iron instrument (*chlidni*), when lo! red liquid oozed out of the wound like blood. The Bráhmaṇa at once spread out a report that the Bania (Suvarnavanik) had killed the cow which had become a live animal by *mantras*, and a credulous public was not slow in taking the story as a truth. The story flew fast from mouth to mouth, and soon reached the ears of the king. Another case occurred at the same time in which a Suvarnavanik was convicted of having received stolen property, to wit, another gold calf presented by Ballála to another Bráhmaṇa. On the strength of these two cases, Ballála passed an edict, declaring that the Suvarnavaniks had killed a cow and stolen gold, and degrading them to a level with the Súdras, and strictly forbade all classes of people, on penalty of being proscribed, from

* See "Ballála-Charita" by Ananda Bhatta. Bhíma Sena, the second brother of the five Pándavas, made a vow to destroy the hundred sons of Dhritarāshtra, the blind king, which he fulfilled in the open field in the celebrated wars between the Kurus and the Pándavas as recorded in the epic of Mahābhārata.

mixing in any way with them. At the same time he divested them of their sacred thread.*

These two cases, briefly told, show at once the futility of the grounds on which the Suvarnavaniks were proscribed by King Ballála. We still hear people talk of these stories when discussing the cause of the degradation of a section of the Vaisyas, who at one time had all the privileges of a twice-born class, but who up to the present day are treated with contempt and abhorrence by all other classes of people, especially in the Mufassil. An orthodox Bráhmāna, in the act of chewing *paṇ* (betel prepared with *chunam*, catechu, nut, &c.), happening unwittingly to touch a Suvarnavanik, would, on being apprised of the fact, immediately throw it out, wash his mouth, and repeat the *gdyiri*, to purify himself. This fact sufficiently illustrates the degradation to which the Bráhmanas themselves have sunk in this age. But the punishment inflicted by Ballála on the Suvarnavaniks still remains a living scourge of that class of people, though more than seven hundred years have rolled away. In no other country of the world has a case parallel to that of the Suvarnavaniks been shown to exist. In Hindustan Proper the Suvarnavaniks are not out-castes, but treated with the respect due to the Vaisya class; it is only in Bengal that they are considered impure and not worthy to be touched. Ballála's wickedness is nowhere more openly displayed than in humbling to the dust the Suvarnavaniks, who, as bankers, or dealers in gold and silver, are never in want, or indigence, and who count amongst them a number of illustrious personages known for acts of liberality and patriotism. If we examine closely the case of the Suvarnavaniks, we come to the conclusion that they were proscribed, not for their alleged sin of killing cow and stealing gold, but for their independent spirit, which was regarded as overbearing conduct towards the king, who, as a Vaidya, occupied a lower position in the scale of society than the Suvarnavaniks, who were Vaisyas from time immemorial. The late Dr. Rajendralála Mitra has attempted to prove that Ballála was by birth a Káyastha. If his position is correct, then the object of a Káyastha king in putting down a class of people occupying a higher position in the social scale is quite patent.† We have

* See "Suvarnavanik," an ably written treatise in Bengali by Nimai Chánd Śil.

† Unfortunately the theory of Dr. Mitra that the Sen Rájás were not Vaidyas but Káyasthas, was too absurd, or glaringly opposed to history, to be accepted even by such a credulous people as the Bengalis. The idea was evidently drawn from certain interpolated passages in Colonel Gladwin's translation of the Ayeen Akbari about Kayth Rájás, which do not appear in Mr. Blochmann's translation. One fact alone will show the utter untenability of his proposition. If it was true that Ballála Sena had been a Káyastha, he would have taken care not to have Kulinized a Ghose, Bose, or a Mitra, to the exclusion of a Sen, Pál, or Dé.

seen before that, by instituting *Kulinism*, Ballála has opened a Pandora's box of evils and curses which directly concern the Bráhmaṇas and collaterally other classes of the community. His treatment of the Suvarṇavaniks is an act of unparalleled despotism through which he still wields his chastening rod throughout the length and breadth of the province of Bengal.

The stories related above may not be true, or may have been exaggerated. We have nothing to do with the authenticity of this story, or the other; many of the incidents and statements, such as, the possession of fourteen crores of rupees by Ballabhánanda, may be a fiction; but one fact remains—and it is an incontrovertible fact—that before Ballála, the Suvarṇavaniks were one of the five branches of the Vanik class, who were Vaisyas, and who were held in the same light as other twice-born classes, but whatever the offence was, they were treated as felons by Ballála, a monarch who had no more right than the Mahommedan Nawáb who succeeded the Sená dynasty, to boycott a whole sect, or a class of good citizens, for the sins, if any, of a single member, or to inflict a punishment so monstrously unjust and illegal—an ostracism—possibly acting under the ægis of an arbitrary and pernicious hierarchy, and under the influence of evil counsellors. In the absence of a Hindu ruler after the Sena dynasty, this stigma, cast on a large and useful class, became permanent and indelible. No one, not even an independent Bráhmaṇa Zamindár, or even Raghunandana, found it in his interest, nor was it feasible for them, to remove this embargo from the caste. Nor did the Suvarṇavaniks think of attempting to shake off the dust from their body. They are, like the Jew, more tenacious of money than susceptible to considerations of social respectability, or high social position. Under the British Government—which is a leveller of rank and pedigree, which regards *murhi* and *michliri** in the same light, and considers a poor scion of an ancient family an object not worthy of notice or attention—the Suvarṇavaniks have the satisfaction of feeling that a Nemesis has overtaken their tyrants, the Bráhmaṇas and their followers, as they are grovelling in the dust, while they, hated and shunned only fifty years ago, are, enjoying the blessings, which wealth and position bring in their train.

The infliction of unjust and unmerited punishment on the Suvarṇavaniks by Ballála paralysed for a time the whole structure of the Suvarṇavanik community. Ballabhánanda and a good many of his kinsmen and relatives left Bengal and passed the remainder of their life at Puri (Sriksheṭṭra, or Jagannátha). The god Jagannátha Déva still wears on his

* Parched rice and sugar-candy.

forehead the precious diamond presented by Ballābhānanda and known as "A'dhya-manik." Many other Suvarnavaniks left Suvarnāgrām to live at Gauda, under the protection of Lakshmana Sena; while the rest, unable to wind up their trade, or affairs, were obliged to live at Suvarnāgrām, conforming themselves to the unjust law passed by Ballāla. It is said that it was about this time that the Suvarnavaniks were stripped of their thread.

Towards the middle of the fifteenth century of the Christian era, we find the Suvarnavaniks carrying on trade at Karjanā near Burdwan, at Jessore, and at Saptagrām near Hughli. The Mussulman Nawābs and Soubadars conferred on them the titles of Rāya, Mallik, Khān, Chaudhuri, Shah, &c., which the descendants of the first recipients of those titles still hold. One of them Ajvara Khān Mallik (commonly known as A'jār Khān) was honoured with a *khilāt* and other presents by a Mahōmmedan ruler. It was he who prepared, or caused to be prepared, a return of the Suvarnavaniks, and classified them according to their *kul*, or family. About the year 1537 A. D. A'jār Khān died and his *śrāddha* ceremony was performed with great *ecclāt* by his sisters' sons, because he left no male issue. Owing to the danger attendant on the journey from Saptagrām to Karjanā in those days, the Suvarnavaniks of Saptagrām could not attend the *śrāddha* ceremony of A'jār Khān performed at Karjanā. The Suvarnavaniks who attended the *śrāddha* ceremony were from that day known as the Radhī class, while those living at Saptagrām, who could not so attend, were styled the Saptagrāmī class. This distinction is purely accidental, without any real difference. About 56 years ago the Suvarnavaniks held a meeting, in which the opinions of the learned Pandits of Bēngal, Benares and Dravīda were obtained, to the effect that they were Vaisya's and that they could wear the sacred thread, and many Suvarnavanik lads actually put on the sacred thread (*panta*); but this was soon after discontinued, in consequence of want of sympathy from the other Vaisya classes. In this age we do not care whether they wear the holy thread, or not, but should be rather glad to see them resist a little more strenuously the passive and pretentious antagonism of the mixed Sūdra class and exact the respect due to the Vaisya caste.

The family titles of the Suvarnavaniks are—A'dhya, Badal, Bardhan, Chandra, Dasta, Dē, Dhar, Lāhā, Mallik, Mandal, Nandī, Nāth, Pāl, Rai, Sen, Sīl, Sinha, &c. And their *gotras* are—A'lamyāna, Bhāradvāja, Brahma-Rishi, Gautama, Kāsyapa, Maudgalya, Nāg-Rishi, Parāsara, Sāvarna, Sāndilya, Suresvarī, and Vyāsa.

Other classes of Vaniks are—Manivanik,* Gandhavanik, Kánsyavanik (Kánsári) and Sankhavanik (Sákhari). Of these, Manivaniks are not traceable in Bengal in the present day; probably they are merged in the Suvarnavaniks; indeed we have seen before that Kusala's three sons respectively carried on trade in gold, jewels and perfumes. It would seem, therefore, that the Manivaniks, Suvarnavaniks, and Gandhavaniks have all sprung from one common stock; but in the absence of more direct evidence other than a mere casual mention that Kusala's three sons carried on three sorts of trade, we are not warranted in stating anything with certainty. The Gandhavaniks claim to be a branch of the ancient Vaisyas, and with good reason. Manu assigns to them a position among the Vaisyas, as we have seen before. They claim descent from Chánd Saudagar of Pauranik celebrity, but we are not quite certain of this. Some say that the Gandhavaniks are the offspring of a Vaidya father and a Rájput mother; others, that they were born of Sree Krishna by Kúbjá, the hunch-backed slave-girl of Rájá Kansa; while others say that they were created by Siva from his forehead. All these stories may have some truth in them; but the Gandhavaniks, whose profession is defined by Manu in unmistakeable terms, are not affected thereby. In Bengal, the Gandhavaniks are ranked among the Puntulis, an alleged branch of the Nava-Sáyakas; owing to their making bundles of spices, drugs, groceries, &c., which they sell. But their name does not occur in the vulgar couplet about the Nava-Sáyakas commonly ascribed to Parásara, as we shall hereafter see. Probably when the couplet, which must be of recent origin, was written, the Gandhavaniks were left out, because they still retained their Vaisyaism; the term 'Puntuli' being subsequently introduced to denote those classes of people whose profession, or occupation, obliged them to make bundles of the articles they sold, as thread, spices, kaudis, shells, conches, articles made of brass or kánsa (a mixed metal), &c.

The family titles of the Gandhavaniks are—Datta, Dán, Dhar, Kar, Nág, Khán,* Láhá, Sáhá, Sádhu, &c. And their *gótras* are—A'lainyána, Bháradvája, Kásyapa, Krishnatreya, Maudgalya, Nrisinha, Rásh-Rishi, Sávarna, and Sándilya.

The Kánsyavaniks (Kánsáris) and the Sankhavaniks (Sákharis), other branches of the Vanik class, are also enrolled among the Puntulis, and the remarks we have recorded above as respects the Gandhavaniks apply to them also. We have no direct evidence to show that these Vaniks were deprived of their Vaisyaism by Ballála Sena. Probably they were classed among the Súdras before his time; and it was left for him to complete what could not be done before, *viz.*, humiliating the

* A Vanik who carries on trade in jewels.

Suvarnavaniks, whom it was very difficult to deal with owing to their opulence.

Ethnologically, the Suvarnavaniks, the Gandhavaniks, the Kānsyavaniks and the Sānkhavaniks are A'ryas. Their religion is generally Vaishnavism as preached by Chaitanya. The Brāhmanas will drink water at the hands of the Vaniks, except the Suvarnavaniks. The religions and other ceremonies of the Suvarnavaniks are performed by *eka-jatiya* Brāhmanas, or Brāhmanas ministering only to a particular class, who are not employed by other classes; for these Brāhmanas, it is said, have shared in the degradation attached to the Suvarnavaniks.

We have proved already that the Sadgōpas, the different classes of the Vaniks, and the Tantuvāyas represent the great Vaisya caste of Bengal, and we have also given a very brief account of the first two classes. We will now give a short account of the Tantuvāya caste of Bengal.

A good deal of misapprehension prevails as regards the origin and status of this useful class of people. We have seen before that originally there was no distinction of caste among the A'ryas; that all the people were of one caste; and that in later times, as necessity arose, the great Aryan nation divided itself into four principal castes with a number of subdivisions in each. Call them by any name you please, as the Brāhmanas, the Kshatriyas, or the Vaisyas, they formed a compact body of people of the same creed and colour and had one common interest to seek, *viz.*, the advancement of the Aryan nation as a whole. In process of time, intermarriages, which were at one time common among them, were put an end to by legislation. Even in the time of Manu, or more correctly when Manu's laws were collected in their present form by Bhrigu, a Brāhmana, after marrying a girl of his own caste, was at liberty to marry a female of the Kshatriya, Vaisya, or Sūdra caste. A Kshatriya, too, after marrying a girl of his own caste, could marry a female of either of the two castes below him. Similarly, a Vaisya could, after marrying a girl of the Vaisya caste, take a female of the Sūdra caste as his second wife.* It is not improbable that when the A'ryas found the

* সর্বগ্রেষিকাতীনাক্ষতানারকর্মণি ।

কামতত্ত্বপ্রবৃত্তানামিমাঃ স্ত্র্যঃক্রমশোঃ বরা ॥

শূদ্রেব ভাৰ্য্যাশূদ্রস্য সাতত্বাচবিশঃ স্মৃতো ।

তেচচাচেবরাজশ্চতীষাচাঞ্জম্ননঃ ।

Manu, Chap. VIII., verses 12 & 13.

For the first marriage of the twice-born classes, a woman of the same class is recommended; but for such as are impelled by inclination to marry again, women in the direct order of the classes are to be preferred.

A Sūdra woman only must be the wife of a Sūdra; she and a Vaisyan, of a Vaisya; they two and a Kshatriyan, of a Kshatriya; those three and a Brāhman, of a Brāhmana.—Sir W. Jones (modified).

necessity of wearing clothes, a number of them applied themselves to the art of weaving, which must have been a very knotty problem to solve at first. We have no authentic history to show whether the A'ryas who took up this particular branch of the public duty, were Bráhmanas, Kshatriyas, or Vaisyas. That they were not Súdras we are quite certain; for no one can conceive the idea that a man of the servile class, whose position and duties are very clearly defined by Manu, could be found capable of performing the arduous task imposed upon him. Probably before the migration of the A'ryas from the plains of Central Asia, and before the four distinctive castes were formed, a number of them followed the art of weaving for the supply of clothes to the Aryan people; * for we cannot suppose that the A'ryas, when they entered the plains of Brahmavartta, came in a nude state, or wore skins of animals, like the aborigines of the country. In later times these A'ryas were regarded as a separate class, and put by Manu in the category of the Vaisyas, and called Tantuváyas, from the profession they adopted. The first projectors of the art of weaving were, therefore, in all probability, persons having the same common parentage with the Bráhmanas, Kshatriyas, and Vaisyas.

The theory of the origin of the Tantuváyas thus briefly delineated is at once natural and reasonable. But we cannot refrain from alluding here to a tradition, which is still current in the country as regards their origin. The tradition runs thus:—There was a time when the gods themselves had no clothes to wear: they put on bark of trees to cover their nakedness. Indra, King of the Heavens, once invited the gods to a sumptuous feast. When the gods had seated themselves in rows, Sachí, the queen-consort of Indra, honoured them by distributing the delicacies with her own hand. While thus engaged, the bark which she wore round her waist loosened and fell off, thus exposing her person to the gaze of the guests. Abashed at this incident, the gods, with Indra as their foreman, unable to come to any decision as to the best means of preventing a similar awkward accident in future, went at first to Brahmá, and then to Vishnu, but the problem of providing a decent covering which would sit tightly but lightly on the body was not solved. At last they came to Siva, the third godhead of the Hindu Trinity, and represented the matter for his consideration. Siva thought over the matter a little, and with the advice of his consort, Bhaváni, performed a burnt sacrifice. From the sacred fire

* The art of weaving is referred to in the Rik and Atharva Vedas, thus proving, beyond doubt, its origin in a pre-historic time.

proceeded a full grown man, whom the gods called Siva Dása, or servant of Siva, and whom Siva himself commanded to prepare clothes for the celestial host. But as there were no cotton-trees in those days, Hanumána was commanded to bring in the eight fiery eyes of a giant, named Kālpásura,* who lived on a mountain. Those eyes, when planted in the ground, were said to produce cotton-trees. Hanumána fulfilled his mission, but could only lay before Śiva and Bhaváni five eyes, as he had lost three on the way. The eyes were planted from which sprung cotton-trees with pods containing cotton. The god Visvakarmá (celestial artificer), under orders, prepared loom and other weaving machines, and made them over to Siva Dása, who was at the same time presented with a help-mate, named Kusavatí, whom Brahmá, at the instance of Siva, created from a blade of *Kusa* grass, to be his wife. Siva Dása first prepared clothes for the gods and the profession of cloth-making was from that time perpetuated in his family. Kusavatí bore Śiva Dása four sons—Balaráma, Uddhava, Purandara, and Madhukara, who became the founders of the four *kuls*, or families, of the Tantuváyas.

The tradition briefly narrated here signifies two important facts: *first*, the great antiquity of the art of weaving, when, after the creation of the world, the gods themselves had no clothes to wear; and, *secondly*, the divine origin of the Tantuváyas. The value of the tradition is, therefore, very great in favour of the whole Tantuváya class. The story recounted in the "Jati Kaumaudí," that the weavers are the offspring of a Manibandha father and a Manikar mother, may be true of a particular class of weavers, who sprang up in later times, as the Kayestha weavers, or the Magi Sreni Tántis alluded to in Mr. Risley's treatise on "The Tribes and Castes in Bengal," (Vol. II., page 296), and has nothing to do with the four great branches of the Tantuváya family founded by four sons of Siva Dása. According to the Brahmá Vaivartta Purána, written probably after the Mahommedan conquest,† the Kuvindika (weaver) is the offspring of Visvakarmá (celestial artificer) by a Súdra woman. This story of the origin of the weavers may, therefore, be dismissed as unworthy of consideration.

In addition to the Code of Manu, the first legislator, whose ordinances still rule and regulate Hindu society, and whose

* The word 'Karpas,' meaning cotton, is said to have been derived from the name of this giant, the letter 'l' being easily transmuted to 'r' by a well-known rule of grammar.

† See Dutt's "Ancient India," Vol. III., page 304.

divisions of castes with their manifold sub-divisions among which the Tantuváyas formed the principal and foremost members of the Vaiśya class, have survived the vicissitudes of ages, there is the fact that the first inventor of cotton-cloth—the first weaver of the *Sārli* for the goddess—must have received an ovation from gods and men that fixed his status and position in society. The rank was, no doubt, equal to that of the Bráhmāna, or the Kshatriya, for a Tantuváya arose at a time when the A'ryas had no Manu to divide them into classes, but, as his profession was one that came under the category of Vaiśyas, he was, as a matter of course, classified among the Vaiśyas.

The four sub-castes of Tantuváyas are—the *Vārendra kul* founded by Balarámá, the *Madhyama kul* founded by Uddhava, the *Uttara kul* founded by Purandara, and the *Dakshina kul* founded by Madhukara. But besides these four divisions, two others are said to exist, viz., the *Purva kul* and the *Asvina kul*. Dr. Müller also speaks of six divisions in his "Chips from a German Workshop," (Vol. II., page 351); but there is some doubt about this statement. According to some, the *Purva kul* are the same as the *Vārendra kul* Tantuváyas, and the *Dakshina kul* as the *Asvina*. The *Dakshina kul* call themselves *Asvina Tantuváyas*, because Śiva Dása, their common progenitor, was born in the month of Asvinā (September-October). The six sub-divisions, therefore, disappear, and the four mentioned above stand. No intermarriage takes place among these four divisions of Tantuváyas.

Of these the *Vārendra kul* Tantuváyas occupy the foremost rank in society. A number of them, for instance, the Setts and Bysacks, had given up weaving from time immemorial,* and carried on an extensive trade in silk and cloth. A good many of them still reside at Málđa, Daccā, Birbhum, Murshidabad, and other places of Bengal. Some of them carried on trade at Haludpur, or Haridpur, near Saptagrām, or Satgong, once a great emporium of trade, but now deserted, and, owing to some cause not clearly stated, they left that place and came down and settled at Govindapur. These are the well-known Sett and

* Mr. Risley in his "Tribes and Castes in Bengal," (Vol. II., page 296), observes, on the authority of Dr. Wise, that the Tantuváyas of Dacca assume the title of Basak (Bysack), which was originally taken by rich persons, who had given up weaving and become cloth-merchants. But the fact is that the title 'Bysack' existed long before the Tantuváyas went to Dacca and gave up the art of weaving.

Bysack families,* who are still regarded by the people of Calcutta as having the honour of being the founders of Calcutta, as they were the first to settle in it. Govindapur and Sutanuti are names given by them.†

One Sett and four Bysack families were the first to settle at a place where the present citadel of Fort William stands. They cleared the place of *jungle*, turned it into a decent hamlet at first, and carried on trade in silk and grey cotton with the Portuguese and other nations of Europe. We find that the Setts count now seventeen generations from the first patriarch who settled at Govindapur, while the four Bysack families count sixteen, or fifteen, generations from the first settlers as shown below :

<i>Patriarch.</i>	<i>Gotra.</i>	<i>Number of generations.</i>
Mukundaram Sett	Maudgalya	17
Kali Das Bysack	Agnivesma	16
Siva Das‡ do.	Aladri-Rishi	15
Barapati do.	Amba-Rishi	15
Basudeva do.	Brahma-Rishi	15

The other families which came subsequently and joined the original Setts and Bysacks are the following :—

<i>Family.</i>	<i>Gotra.</i>
Bysack ...	Maudgalya.
	Alamyāna.
	Durva-Rishi.
	Pāndu-Rishi.
	Maharshi.
	Sinha or Sringa.
	Kāsyapa.

* The title 'Sett,' or 'Sethji,' is well-known in Hindustan; it means a shroff, a money-dealer, also a *dhani*, or a rich person. Among the Marwaris and Jains the title is also very common. The historical Jagat Sett was a Jain by birth. The title 'Bysack' is supposed to be of Persian origin (بوساک, *busakh*), meaning, metaphorically, a 'companion of nobility.' The title, it is said, was conferred by the Mogul Government. But we know as a matter of fact that the title 'Bysack' existed long before the advent of the Mahomedans to this country. A learned scholar of the day thus derives the word: The Sanskrit root is ब (bē) from which comes the word बाय (bāya), meaning a weaver, as Tānuvāya is a thread-weaver; to which is added the word साक्षा (sakhā); meaning a branch. Hence बाय + साक्षा (baya + sakha) = बायसाक्षा (baya sakhā), means a branch of weavers, and the compound is abbreviated into बसाक्ष (Basāksh). 'Bysack' therefore more correctly corresponds to the radix of the first part of the word. We know that some forty-two years ago the name was spelt in the vernacular as बसाक्ष and not as बसक as is done now. It is also noteworthy that the title 'Bysack' is not to be found among any other caste of Bengal. In this article we will, for obvious reasons, adopt the antiquated spelling of these titles.

† It is said that owing to the silting up of the river Sarasvati about 1537 A.D., the Setts and Bysacks left Satgong to settle at Govindapur. Tradition also speaks of a flight.

‡ This Siva Das must not be confounded with the traditional Siva Dāsa alluded to before.

Datta (commonly spelt as Dutt)	{	Amba-Rishi..
		Māṅga-Rishi..
		Kaula-Rishi..
Mañlik ...	{	Nāga-Rishi..
		Aladri-Rishi..
Hāldar ...	{	Kulattha-Rishi..

In consequence of the Sett family of the Maudgalya *gotra* having been the first settlers at Govindapur, they had the honour of receiving the first *Mālya-chandana* in all social gatherings of Calcutta, and are still honoured in the social gatherings of the Setts and Bysacks with the first *Mālya-chandana*, to the exclusion of the other families.*

The profession of the Tantuvāya was such as never knew the fluctuation of trade. It gave him a monopoly that could not deteriorate. Cloth was as much a necessary of life as rice, and the Tantuvāya was the "Surbaia Leebas"† alike to the king, the nobles, and the people. Hence it was that the Setts and Bysacks always formed the aristocracy of every capital where the Hindu monarchs reigned, or the

* *Mālya-chandana*, or *Mālā-chandana*, is the ceremony of distributing garlands of flowers with a few drops of *chandana* (sandal-wood rubbed) among the guests at a festival, such as a *śrāddha* or a wedding. A garland is thrown on the neck and a drop of *chandana* marked on the brow of every guest according to his social position, or in accordance with the table of precedence approved by the head of the party, or caste, to which the host belongs. The Gosthipada, or head of the clan, sometimes a poor old man with an elephantiasis on his leg, receives the first garland, because his father, or grandfather, happened at one time to be the greatest *Kulin*, or a wealthy member of the community. Among the Brāhmanas of the day, the *Sūvarṇa Chaudhuīs* are reckoned as Gosthipada. The late Rāja Rādhākānta Dēva used to honour the late Avināś Chandra Gānguli as the Brāhmana Gosthipada of his *Sabha*. This honour appears to have been given more for his position as Head Assistant of the Receiver's Office of the late Supreme Court at Calcutta than for his learning or Brahmanical purity; but he was a better *Kulin* than the *Sūvarṇa Chaudhuīs*. The *Kāyasthas* are very particular and zealous in the matter of *mālā-chandana*. The wealthy class among them have different *duls*, or parties, headed by a patriarch of the family, and sometimes vehement contests take place for the obtainment of the first garland. The other castes, too, have their *mālā-chandana*, but not generally according to any recognised precedence. The Setts and Bysacks, for instance, give the first garland to their Guru, a *Gōsain* (*Gōvams*), and then to a representative of a Sett family, if one happens to be present at the time. Old men are generally honoured before young persons.

† "Supplier of clothing" for the Royal Family. This title was conferred with a *Chit* and *Sanad* on Siva Dās Bysack by the Mogul Viceroy at Allahabad under the Royal Command of the Emperor Akbar. Siva Dās was the first Bengali who was honoured at the same time with the title of 'Babu' or 'Baboo' (*Persian* بابو, metaphorically a 'companion of honour,' and was generally applied to the sons of *Shāhzadāhs*). Its use is now so common among the Bengalis that it has lost the essence of its origin. A *Sarkar* on Rs. 10 or Rs. 12 is a Babu now-a-days!

Mahomedans ruled. In the British capital of India, Calcutta, they were the first and foremost aristocracy. At Gour (more properly Gauda), they had their nest—their head-quarters—and when the Sena dynasty broke up, and the Mahomedan seat of Government began to shift from place to place, the Setts and Bysacks moved with the Government. A large portion of the Bysacks migrated to Dacca; some went to Murshidabad, when it became the seat of Government. Some of these Bysacks were honoured with the title of 'Chaudhuri.' Several families came down to Sâtgong in the days of its prosperity. They are seen to have settled in every great mart or town. The Khâns represented, and still represent them at Santipur, once a large town. To Calcutta five families* migrated and were at one time the main prop of the East India Company. In fact the East India Company owed its rise and prosperity chiefly to the aid and influence of these Setts and Bysacks. The East India Company, true to its instincts, killed the goose that laid for its sake the golden eggs. Manchester usurped their calling, and the great Houses of the Setts and Bysacks in Bengal dwindled into ruin. The Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta fell into decay from the day the battle of Plassey was fought. Mighty were their means before. At one time the whole of Calcutta was owned by them. Not only had the East India Company to ask them for a site, but every past settler in Calcutta received his holding from a Sett, or a Bysack, either free, or on payment. If ever the history of Calcutta topography is written, it will be abundantly shown that Sutanuti, Govindapur and Calcutta were the exclusive property of the Setts and Bysacks long before Mahârájá Nava Krisna Bahadur received the talukdari of Sutanuti from the British Government. Even after he became the *Talukdar* of Sutanuti, he failed to assess, or levy, a *cownie* of rent from a Bysack, or Sett, having holdings in Sutanuti. The Setts and principal Bysacks removed from Govindapur to their places in Burrabazar, which is in *khas* Calcutta, and out of the precincts of Sutanuti. The line that divided Sutanuti from Calcutta was the North side of Nimtolah Ghât from the Strand to the Canal.

(To be continued.)

* One family of Setts and four of Bysacks noticed before.

ART. X.—THE EDINBURGH ACADEMY IN INDIA.

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The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894, being supplement to the "*Edinburgh Academy Chronicle*:" February 1894.

THE INDIAN ARMY LIST.

IN a footnote to the part of this article which appeared in the *Calcutta Review* for July last, I said that the *Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894*, had been sent to me (by the "old boy" who gave me the particulars about the dinner eaten in January last in Calcutta), and that from it I was surprised and grieved to learn that Colonel Fergusson, the Historiographer of the *Cumming Club*, had ceased to answer to his name at the annual gatherings, having gone to join the majority. This Army List appears to be the first of a series, and was issued as a Supplement to the *Edinburgh Academy Chronicle* of February 1894. I hear that the *Chronicle* itself has been in existence for about two years, and I presume that, so far as has been found possible, it contains a record of every past pupil who attended the Academy from its beginning in 1824 down to the present day. I should think the total number must be between four and five thousand, and that most of these spent at least three years in the school. Out of these, five hundred, including a few cadets and volunteers, have served, or are still serving, in the British and Indian Regular Armies. The Editors of the *Chronicle* say that the *Army List* cannot be considered complete, owing to the difficulty of procuring information about the earlier pupils of the Academy; nor do they claim for it more than approximate accuracy. They hope to publish a supplementary list with corrections, and to note, at least once a year, in the *Chronicle*, the promotion of officers on the Active List. "Communications on these points should be addressed to the Master of the Army Side at the Academy." The Academy has put on a good deal of "side" since I attended it. It was then one-sided, or—shall I say?—"totus, teres, atque rotundus." Afterwards it divided itself—in defiance of the Scripture text—into two sides: an Ancient, or Classical, and a Modern;

and now there appears to be at least one more side—the Army Side.

In the introductory remarks on the *Army List* it is observed that in a list of 500 names it might well be expected that some eminent soldiers would appear. Five of the number won the Victoria Cross, the highest distinction for bravery which a soldier can obtain. Two of these braves still survive, while the other three died in the execution of their duties. At least three other officers on the list were recommended for the same distinction. "One of them, Captain Spens, won a nobler name in sacrificing himself, for he 'saved the 72nd.'" Over fifty of the number have risen to be General Officers, while several have held high commands in important campaigns. Eight have been knighted for their services, while many are Companions of British Orders of Knighthood, or Members of Foreign Orders. The first war of note in which Academicals took part was the Afghan War of 1840-42. "In the succeeding Punjab Wars," as the *Chronicles of the Cumming Club* remarks, "old Mr. Roland" (the Fencing Master) "could read of many feats of valour which might be attributed to his early lessons in swordsmanship:—

"The Crimean Campaign saw more than forty Academicals in the trenches before Sebastopol, and one at least in high command in the famous Heavy Brigade. It was, however, in the Indian Mutiny that the Academicals first (?) made their mark. Of the seventy engaged in this campaign, several were murdered by their regiments at the outset; but they were amply avenged by the survivors, of whom three obtained the Victoria Cross. Almost every phase of the war was seen by Academicals: the protracted fighting round Lucknow, and the defence of the Residency; the battle of Badli-ke-Serai, and the crowning glory of Delhi. The desire for vengeance must have been writ deep in the hearts of those who, like Beatson, emulated the Blind King of Bohemia at Crecy, and sought a last repose among the ranks of the enemy."

These last words are rather obscure, but Beatson's entry in the *Army List* is:—

BEATSON, W.S., Captain, 1st Bengal Cavalry:—"The little body of Volunteer Cavalry, composed mainly of English officers, now appeared on the scene It was a charge of but Eighteen Sabres Among those who went into action was Captain Beatson, who had been struck down by cholera, and was powerless to sit his horse; but, dying as he was, he could not consent to lose his chance of taking part in the great act of retribution. So he placed himself in a tumbrel, and was carried into action; and as dear life was passing away from him, his failing heart pulsed with great throbs of victory." (Kaye, vol. ii., p. 285.) . . . 1834-36

No less, it is said, "did the later Afghan War bear testimony to the bravery of Academicals, but it caused terrible loss. In one short week Major John Cook, *V. C.*, and Captain James Dundas, *V. C.*, were killed, while Captain Spens lost his life at Asmai Heights. Later on, General Tytler,

V. C., succumbed to illness, "and the remainder of the little band of thirty-five returned to India mourning the loss of its best men.

"In the Egyptian War of 1882 and the succeeding campaigns, some twenty Academicals worthily upheld the honour of their old school.

"Nor has evidence of proficiency in military subjects been wanting. On eleven occasions we can point to Academicals who have occupied the first place at competitive examinations, four of them having passed First out of Woolwich, while the successes already won by members of our lately-formed Army Class give promise that this standard will be fully maintained."

The introduction to the Army List ends thus :—

"We may, perhaps, be allowed to assure Academicals that their deeds will not be wanting in imitators. There may everyday be seen at Raeburn Place" (the Playfield) "examples of courage and coolness, which augur well for the succeeding generation. When present and future Academy boys come to write their deeds on the roll of history, we hope that they also will be found to have played the man; and then, however small their service, or unfortunate their end, their memory will be handed down with that reverence with which we invite attention to this record of the deeds of their predecessors."

As the Academy had done without a "Chronicle" for nearly seventy years, I presume it was the publication of the *Chronicles of the Cumming Club*, with its "Muster Roll," which included so many soldiers, that opened the eyes of the school authorities to the advisability of having a record of the whole body of pupils, and later on, to the good that would follow from the publication of an "Army List," as pointed out in the words last quoted.

I must now, as I did from the "Muster Roll" attached to the *Chronicles of the Cumming Club*, extract from the "Army List" particulars regarding the Academy men who served, and are serving, in India. But my record must be very imperfect for not only do the Editors say that, in many cases, the field services of Indian Officers have not yet been obtained, but in many cases I find that nothing is recorded as to what parts of the world other officers have served in, though many of them must have served in India. One near relation of my own, and several men I knew at home before they joined the Army, I have seen and known in India, but no Indian service is entered to their credit in the list; and I knew a Connaught Ranger for three years, out here long ago, but did not know that he had been two years at the Academy, after my time, until I lately saw his name in the "Army List." There are some very obvious errors in the list, and others which I can correct from personal knowledge: thus, one Indian Army Officer is shown as on the Active List, who retired about ten years ago. The next man on the list, the uncle of the officer just mentioned, died in the seventies, but is shown as still alive. Sir Alexander Christison, Bart. (M. D. ?), is recorded merely as Surgeon-General: he was so in India, in the North-Western Provinces, and I think

belonged to the Indian Medical Department. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, R. A., is said to have studied in the Academy from 1856 to 1860, but also to have during that period—in 1857-58—commanded a heavy battery in the field during the Indian Mutiny Campaign. Lieutenant M. C. Utterson is said to have been killed in the Persian Campaign of 1856, but the type in which his name is printed indicates that he is still to the fore. The late Lieutenant-Colonel Vertue, Madras Engineers, a class fellow of mine, who died in 1876, is said to have attended the school from 1841 to 1876, an injustice to his reputation, as he was a distinguished student. But I mention these instances as merely spots on the sun, which will not recur. To transcribe in full the entries in the "Academy Army List" regarding officers who have served in India would occupy too many pages of the *Calcutta Review*; and as much of the matter seems matter of course,—e. g., the receipt of medals and clasps for the Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the Afghan Frontier and Burman Campaigns,—I have shortened many of the entries by omitting mention of these distinctions. I have also in most cases omitted the names of particular battles and operations in the various campaigns, my object being merely to show generally the nature of each man's service, while mentioning the more remarkable deeds and feats of valour which are recorded in the "Army List." I do not repeat particulars which have already been given in "The Muster Roll of the Cumming Club;" but the names of *our* boys who went to India will be found in their proper place. The list is alphabetical. The names of officers known to be dead are printed in *italics*; "a" before an officer's name denotes that his name was on the Active List in January 1894.

It will be seen that out of the total of 500 officers in the "Army List" of the Academy 270, or more than one half, are recorded or are known to myself, as having served in India; but I think it quite possible that this is one hundred short of the number that did so serve. Even as it is, it is a goodly number. The years at the right hand of the page opposite the entries, at the end of the line, indicate approximately the time during which an officer was at the Academy.

C. W. HOPE.

The Edinburgh Academy Army List, 1824-1894.

- AGNEW, G. A.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 90th and 30th Regiments : Indian Mutiny Campaigns (wounded). A year's service for Lucknow 1848-52
- (a) **AITKEN, W.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, R. A. : served in second and third Afghan Wars ; Burmese War, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel ... 1863
- ANDERSON, D.**, General, Bombay-Artillery ... 1841-44
- ANDERSON, PATRICK CHARLES**, Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Artillery : Lower Burmah Campaign, 1852. (See *Cumming Club*, p. 139) ... 1844-46
- ANDERSON, K. E.**, Captain, 15th Bengal Native Infantry, 3rd Bengal European Regiment, 107th Regiment : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ... 1839-42
- BAILLIE, J.**, Gentleman Cadet : Killed accidentally at Addiscombe ... 1837-39
- BAIRNSFATHER, H. W.**, Captain, I. S. C. ... 1852-57
- BALDERSTON, A.**, Captain, 109th and 34th Regiments (originally in the 3rd Bombay European Regiment, which became the 109th Regiment in 1862) : killed while superintending rescue work at Naini Tal, 18th September, 1880 ... 1854-57
- BALLARD, J. A.**, General, O. B., D. C. L., R. E. : One of the defenders of Silistria against the Russians, 1854. Received the C. B. while a subaltern. Served in the Russian (Persian?) War, 1856. Master of the Mint at Bombay. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 61, 62, 119, 208, and Kinglake's *Crimea*, vol ii, pp. 51-55) ... 1838-40, 1842-45
- (a) **BANNERMAN, W. B.**, Surgeon-Captain, Madras Medical Service ... 1869-71
- BEATSON, W. S.**, Captain, 1st Bengal Cavalry : "The little body of Volunteer Cavalry, composed mainly of English officers, now appeared on the scene It was a charge of but eighteen Sabres Among those who went into action was Captain Beatson, who had been struck down by cholera, and was powerless to sit his horse ; but, dying as he was, he could not consent to lose his chance of taking part in the great act of retribution. So he placed himself upon a tumbrel, and was carried into action ; and as dear life was passing away from him, his failing heart pulsed with great throbs of victory."—(Kaye, vol. ii, p. 285) ... 1834-36
- (a) **BELL, G. J. II.**, Surgeon-Captain, Indian Medical Service : Lushai Expedition, 1859 ... 1875-76
- (a) **BELL, J. BEATSON**, Lieutenant, West Yorkshire Regiment, and I. S. C. ... 1882
- BELL, T.**, Major-General, I. S. C. ... 1840-44
- BETHUNE, R.**, Major, 92nd Highlanders : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; and Central India under Sir Hugh Rose ; Brevet of Major ... 1837-40
- BEVERIDGE, A. W.**, Surgeon-Major, M.D., 78th Highlanders, A.M. D., Final Capture of Lucknow ... 1845-49
- BLACKWOOD, C. D.**, Lieutenant, Bengal Infantry : Died at Calcutta, 1862 ... 1852-54
- BLACKWOOD, G. F.**, Major, Bengal Artillery : Killed at Maiwand, Afghanistan ... 1847-54
- BOYLE, HON R.E.**, Colonel, 46th Bengal Native Infantry, and I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; Afghan Campaign, 1878-79, commanded 11th P. W. O. Bengal Lancers. ... 1846-49
- BOYLE, W.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 15th and 89th Regiments : Crimean War, Brevet of Major ; Knight of the Legion of Honour ; Commanded a field force in Central India in 1858-59. (Commanded 89th Regiment in India in the seventies.—G. W. H.) ... 1829-34
- (a) **BRANDER, H. R.**, Captain, I. S. C. ... 1872
- BRANDER, J. B. DUNBAR**, Captain, 3rd Madras Light Cavalry, and Scots Greys : Crimea. (Formerly James B. Dunbar) ... 1837 40
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- BRANDER, M. J.**, Lieutenant-General, I. S. O.: Burma, 1852-53; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58, Brevet of Major; Afghan War, 1878-79 ... 1838-40
- BREMNER, A. R.**, Lieutenant, 41st Madras Native Infantry: Died in Central India, 1856 ... 1837-40
- BROWN, W.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Artillery ... 1838-43
- BRUCE, A. A.**, Major-General, 3rd Bengal Native Infantry, I. S. O.: Punjab Campaign, 1848-49, &c. (See *Cumming Club*, p. 134) ... 1842-44
- BRUCE, A. J.**, Major-General, 14th Madras Native Infantry, I. S. C.: Deputy Superintendent, Mysore Commission, ... 1838
- BRUCE, A. M.**, Colonel, 15th Punjab Infantry: Bhootan, 1865-66; Bizotis, 1869; Miranzai, 1869; Jowaki Expedition, 1857-78; Afghan War, 1879-80, &c., &c. ... 1854-58
- BRUCE, E. B.**, Lieutenant, Madras Infantry ... 1848-54
- BRUCE, J. C. W.**, Colonel 48th Madras Native Infantry ... 1843-45
- BRYCE, J. H.**, Lieutenant, R. A. Saved his guns at Chinhut, 30th June, 1857; wounded at Lucknow, and died 8th August 1857. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 97-135-137) ... 1841-48
- BURNES, G. J. H.**, Lieutenant, 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry: Murdered during the Indian Mutiny. (See *Cumming Club*, p. 138; Kaye, vol. iii, pp. 482-487) ... 1843-45
- CADELL, A.**, General, B. E.: Chief Engineer and Secretary to Government, N. W. P., P. W. D. ... 1836-41
- CADELL, A. T.**, General, R. A.: Served in the Chinese War, 1840-42, and the Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58. Died 1885 ... 1825-32
- (a) CADELL, H. F.**, Captain, 83rd Regiment, and I. S. C. ... 1863-66
- CADELL, H. M.**, Major, Bengal Artillery: Burmese War, 1852, and Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857. Died 1868 ... 1842-46
- CADELL, J. S.**, Lieutenant, Madras Cavalry. Died 1870 ... 1826
- CADDELL, R.**, General, C. B., Royal Artillery: Crimea, Brevet of Major; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-60, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel ... 1834-40
- CADDELL, ROBERT**, Colonel, 20th Bengal Native Infantry, and B.S.O. ... 1839-42
- (U. C.) CADDELL, T.**, Colonel, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, and B.S.O.: Indian Mutiny, 1857-60; Victoria Cross for rescuing wounded men under severe fire on two occasions, 12th June, 1857. Chief Commissioner, Andaman Islands, 1880-92 ... 1845-48
- CADDELL, W.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, M. S. C.: Commissioner in the Berars; Hyderabad Assigned District. Died 1876 ... 1835-41
- (a) CAMPBELL, H. W.**, Captain, I. S. O. ... 1872
- (a) CAMPBELL, J. C.**, Major, R. E.: Afridi Expedition, 1877-78; Afghan War, 1879-80. Passed First out of Woolwich ... 1865-70
- CAMPBELL, J. H. A.**, Lieutenant, 20th Bombay Native Infantry ... 1836
- (a) CAMPBELL, L. R. H. W.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, I. S. O.: Hazara Field Force, 1868; Black Mountain Expedition, &c.; Afghan War, 1878-79, in which Deputy Assistant Quarter-Master General ... 1857-61
- CAMPBELL, T. HAY**, Major-General, Bengal Artillery ... 1836-43
- CHALMERS, A. B.**, Captain, General List, Bengal Infantry. Died at Peshawar 1869 ... 1847-51
- CHALMERS, H. B.**, Colonel, I. S. O.: Principal Executive Commissariat Officer at Agra during the Mutiny; wounded at battle of Agra, 1857 ... 1840-45
- CHALMERS, ROBERT**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 45th Bengal Native Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign; second in command of 14th Bengal Cavalry; joined Havelock's Volunteer Cavalry from the time it was raised; a year's service for Lucknow, and Brevet of Major. Died 1878 ... 1843-44
- CHALMERS, SYDNEY**, Lieutenant-General, 53rd Bengal Native Infantry: Santhal and Indian Mutiny Campaigns, including siege and capture of Lucknow, where he was severely wounded. Died 1892 ... 1844-49

- CHANCELLOR, ALEXANDER**, Captain, 10th and 75th Foot : Died September, 1857, at the siege of Delhi ... 1838-41
- CHANCELLOR, ALEXANDER**, Major, Northumberland Fusiliers : Afghan War, 1878-79. (See *Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 18.) Died 21st March, 1893 ... 1860-65
- CHRISTIE, ALEXANDER**, in the Indian Army : killed in the Khyber Pass, 1842 ... 1829-32
- CHRISTIE, B.**, Lieutenant, Bombay Artillery. Died February, 1860 ... 1845-49
- CHRISTIE, ROBERT**, Lieutenant, 5th Bengal Cavalry ... 1828-32
- CHRISTIE, W. B.**, Captain, 80th Foot : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1858-59 ... 1852-54
- CHRISTISON, SIR ALEXANDER**, Bart., Surgeon-General, Indian Medical Department ... 1836-43
- CLEGHORN, J. C.**, Captain, 7th Madras Cavalry ... 1842-45
- CLEPHANE, A. R.**, Lieutenant General, M. S. C. : Turkey and Crimea, 1855-56 ... 1836-42
- CLEPHANE, W.**, Lieutenant, R. A. : (See *Cumming Club*, p. 142.) Died of Cholera, 1st September, 1857 ... 1841-45
- CLERK, EDWARD**, Major, 3rd Madras Cavalry ... 1833-40
- (a) COCHRAM, F.**, Colonel, 37th Foot : Burma, 1887-89 ... 1857-59
- COCKBURN, H. A.**, Lieutenant-General, 53rd Bengal Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 144-146) ... 1841-42
- (a) COLDSTREAM, J. G.**, Lieutenant, I. S. O. ... 1882-88
- (a) COLDSTREAM, W. M.**, Lieutenant, R. E. : Passed First out of Woolwich : now in India ... 1879
- (O. C.) COOK, JOHN**, Major, 107th Foot, and B. S. C. : Divisional Order No. 2148, Camp Sherepore, 21st December, 1879, announced his death from a wound received in action on 12th idem, and narrated his services as a young man at Umbleya in 1863, the Black Mountain in 1868, and in the Afghan Campaign, with the Kurram Field Force, in 1878-79 — "Major Cook was present at the capture of the Peiwal Kotal : his conduct on that occasion earning for him the admiration of the whole force and the Victoria Cross" "In the capture of the heights of Sung-i-Nawishta, Major Cook again distinguished himself, and in the attack on Takht-i-Shah peak on the 12th December, he ended a noble career in a manner worthy of even his great name for bravery." (See also *Forbes's Afghan Wars*, p. 242) ... 2852-56
- (a) COOK, WALTER**, Captain, 89th Foot, and I. S. C. : Served with 17th Foot in Afghan War, 1878-79 ; severely wounded. "The conduct of Lieutenant Cook during an action fought on 14th October, 1879, near Turkai Kotal, was prominently brought to notice by Colonel Money with a view to his being recommended for the Victoria Cross."—*Historical Record of the 3rd Sikh Infantry*, Lahore, 1887 ... 1867-69
- COOK, WALTER**, Lieutenant, 1st Madras European Regiment, and 22nd Madras Native Infantry ... 1833-40
- CRAIGIE, A. W.**, Lieutenant, Guide Corps : Mortally wounded near Delhi, 1857 ... 1845-47
- CRAIGIE, W. B.**, Major, Bengal Cavalry ... 1854-56
- CRASTER, J. T.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 38th Foot : Crimean and Indian Mutiny Campaigns. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 147-148) ... 1843-44
- CUMMING, W. G.**, Lieutenant Colonel, 17th Bombay Native Infantry ... 1840-41
- CUNNINGHAM, C. A.**, Colonel, I. S. O. : Afghan War, 1880, A.-A. G. of Division and on line of communications ... 1851-56
- CUNYNGHAM, SIR R. K. A. DIOK**, Bart., Lieutenant, 93rd Highlanders : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ... 1848-53
- (a) DALLAS, J.**, Captain, R. E. : Assistant Secretary, Military Department, Government of India : Passed first into Woolwich and first out ... 1870
- DALMAHOY, P. C.**, Major-General, 60th Bengal Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ... 1850-54

<i>DALMAHOY, S. S.</i> , Captain, I. S. C. : Died 1876	1856-57
<i>DICK, A. ABERCROMBIE</i> , Captain, B. S. O. : Indian Mutiny Campaign (severely wounded) ; China Campaign, 1860. (Commanded 11th P. W. D., Bengal Lancers (?).—C. W. H.)	1844-46
<i>DICK, W. ABERCROMBIE</i> , 3rd Bombay Light Cavalry	1832-39
<i>DICKSON, W.</i> , Colonel, Bengal Artillery	1835
<i>DIROM, T. A.</i> , Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Artillery : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; three times mentioned in despatches ; Brevet of Major	1842-45
<i>DOBBS, A. F.</i> , Colonel M. S. O.	1850
<i>DOBBS, F. H.</i> , Lieutenant, 1st Madras European Fusiliers : Killed at Lucknow, 1858	1849-51
<i>DOIG, A. J.</i> , Colonel, I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58	1850-53
<i>DREVER, W. S.</i> , Colonel, C. S. I., 31st Madras Native Infantry : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; Sometime Inspector-General of Police, Madras. (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 151-152.) Died. 1880	1841-43
<i>DRUMMOND, HENRY</i> , General, Bengal Engineers : Satlaj Campaign, 1845-46 ; Burma, 1852 ; Commanding the Engineers in Rohilkhand, 1858 ; Brevet of Major	1833-40
<i>DUCAT, J. S.</i> , Captain, Bombay S. C., 17th Bombay Native Infantry : Died 1865	1849-56
<i>DUDGEON, J. J.</i> , Captain, 22nd and 80th Foot : Indian Mutiny Campaign	1838-43
<i>DUDGEON, R. U.</i> , Major, 61st Foot, and Royal Scots : Indian Mutiny Campaign	1851-57
<i>DUMBRECK, W.</i> , Surgeon, M. D., 1st Royals : Crimea and Indian Mutiny Campaigns. Died at Lucknow, 1858	1842-47
<i>DUNBAR, THOMAS O.</i> , Lieutenant-Colonel, 75th Regiment : Served with 95th under Sir Colin Campbell at the forcing of the Kohat Pass, 1850 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857, Brevet of Major	1837-40
(W. G.) <i>DUNDAS, JAMES</i> , Captain, R. E. : Bhootan, 1865 ; gained the Victoria Cross for gallant conduct at the attack on the Block-house of Dewangiri in Bhootan, 30th April, 1865 ; Afghan War, 1878-79 ; killed by premature explosion of a mine at Kabul, December 1879. (See <i>Forbes's Afghan Wars</i> , p. 262)	1852-55
<i>ECKFORD, JOHN</i> , Major, R. E., Bengal : Latterly in Indian Telegraph Department. Died 1881	1849-50
<i>ELDER, J. J.</i> , Major-General, B. S. C.	1841-45
<i>ERSKINE, H. N. B.</i> , Colonel, C. S. I. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ; Colonel of Indian Volunteers (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 155-156)	1841-43
<i>EWART, ARCHIBALD J. P.</i> , Captain, 16th Madras Native Infantry	1839-40
<i>FAIRLIE, C.</i> , Lieutenant-Colonel, 19th Hussars : Indian Mutiny Campaign	1849-54
<i>FARQUHAR, W. G.</i> , Lieutenant, 1st Madras Infantry	1838
<i>FERGUSON, ALEXANDER</i> , Lieutenant-Colonel, 106th Foot : Served in Persia, 1856-57 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign. Compiler of the <i>Chronicles of the Cumming Club</i> , which see, pp. 158-161. Died 1892	1841-46
<i>FERGUSON, H. M.</i> , Major, M. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58	1830-37
<i>FERGUSON, J. A.</i> , Lieutenant-Colonel, Rifle Brigade, (with which twice served in India.—C. W. H.) : Professor of Tactics, &c., R. M. C., Sandhurst	1857-61
<i>FERGUSON, J. A. D.</i> , Lieutenant-Colonel, 6th Bengal Light Cavalry : Paujab Campaign, 1849, Brevet of Major	1824-27
<i>FERRIER, ISLAY</i> , Captain, 48th Madras Native Infantry : 7th Class	1827
(a) <i>FITZGERALD, C. J. O.</i> , Colonel, C. B., M. S. O. : Field service in 1858 in the Raithore Doab, India ; Afghan War, 1880 ; Burma, 1886-87, C. B.	1851-53
<i>FITZGERALD, JAMES</i> , Colonel, B. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ; China War, 1860	1849-53

- FULLERTON, W.**, Major-General, 14th Bengal Native Infantry: Formerly D. J. A.-General, Bengal. Maharajpur, Gwalior Campaign, 1843; Satlaj Campaign, 1845-46. Died 1876. ... 1833
- FULLERTON, J.**, Captain, Scots Greys, and 16th Bengal Native Infantry ... 1839-46
- GAMMELL, F. E.**, Captain, Bengal Artillery ... 1838-43
- GAMMELL, J. H. H.**, Colonel, 76th, 22nd, 63rd, 9th and 54th: Served in N.-W. Frontier in India, and the Campaign of 1854 against Mohmunds. Again served five years in India in the Seventies. (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 165-166) ... 1841-46
- GIFFORD** (either **GEORGE ROBERT** or **EDWARD SCOTT**), Bengal Volunteer Cavalry: Killed at Damuriagahj, 1857 ... 1834
- GILLESPIE, A.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, R. A.: Indian Mutiny Campaign: Commanded a heavy battery in the field in 1855-58 (?) Died 1892 ... 1856-60
- GORDON, GEORGE**, Colonel, 50th Bengal Native Infantry: Served against the Kohls, 1832-33; Punjab Campaign, 1847; afterwards in command of 2nd Sikh Infantry ... 1824-27
- GORDON, J. R.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 15th Madras Native Infantry, and 108th Foot (See *Cumming Club*, p. 166) ... 1844-46
- GRAHAM, ADAM W.**, Colonel, Indian Army: North-West Frontier Campaign, 1868 ... 1849-54
- GRAHAM, G. F. I.**, Major-General, I. S. O. ... 1851-54
- GRANT, R. G. H.**, Major-General, R. A. (Madras): Field service in Bandedkhanda, 1842 ... 1832
- GROVE, W. G.**, Colonel, 32nd Madras Native Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857. Commanded a force of Irregular Cavalry and Infantry at the attack on Heerakote, 1858 ... 1838-42
- (a) **HALKET, H. CRAIGIE**, Major, I. S. C.: Afghan War, 1878-79; Mahsud-Waziri Expedition, 1881; Sikkim Expedition, 1888 ... 1861-62
- (a) **HAMILTON, H.**, Captain I. S. C. ... 1870
- HAMILTON, SIR W. STIRLING, Bart.**, Major-General, R. A. (Bengal): Wounded in six places during a night attack on his camp by Afridis; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1840-41 ... 1843-46
- HARE, JAMES**, Colonel, 60th and 22nd Regiments: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857 ... 1847-48
- HAY, C.**, Colonel, B. S. O. ... 1854-58
- HAY, DUNLOP**, Captain, 78th and 93rd Regiments: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59; wounded ... 1850-54
- HAY, HENRY**, Major, B. S. O.: Zhob Valley Expedition, 1884; Burma Expedition, 1885-89 ... 1858-61
- HILLS, AROHBALD**: Was three terms at Addiscombe; afterwards became a planter in Bengal ... 1843-47
- HILLS, GEORGE SCOTT**, Colonel, R. E., Bengal: Indian Mutiny Campaign; Bhootan Expedition; Afghan War; Commanding Royal Engineer to Division Cabul (*sic*), 1879-80, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel: Died May, 1892 ... 1849-50
- HILLS, GEORGE SCOTT**, Colonel, 38th Bengal Native Infantry and 28th Punjab Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857; Rebellion, 1862-63; Cossya and Lyntea Hills; Afghan War, 1879-80. Commanded a column in Black Mountain Expedition, 1891 ... 1844-47
- HILLS, JOHN**, Major-General, C. B., R. E.: Persian Expedition, 1856-57; Abyssinian Expedition, 1867-68; Commanding R. E. Bombay Force, Afghanistan, 1879-81; Commanding R. E., Burma, 1886-87. Stanton Medallist, Edinburgh University, 1858-59. F. R. S. E., 1859. C. B. for services in Afghanistan ... 1844-47
- (W. G.) **HILLS-JOHNES**, Lieutenant-General Sir J., G. C. B., R. A.: Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58; (severely wounded); awarded the Victoria Cross, for which see *Kaye's History of the Indian Mutiny*, vol. ii., pp. 234-235, 434; Brevet of Major.

- Abyssinia 1868; Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel. Afghan War, 1878-80; Governor of City of Kabul; Commander of North Afghanistan Field Force; thanks of both Houses of Parliament; G.C.B., 1893. Formerly Sir J. Hills: assumed the surname Hills-Johnes, 6th October, 1883 ... 1843-47
- HODSON, A. D.**, Lieutenant, 57th Regiment, and 6th Hyderabad Native Infantry ... 1884
- HODSON, V. J.**, Lieutenant, Bengal European Light Infantry: Died at Benares, 25th December, 1863 ... 1854-57
- (a) **HORSBURGH, R. P.**, Lieutenant, 7th Dragoon Guards, and I. S. C.: Burma, 1886-88 ... 1871-75
- HUGHES, J. W.**, Major-General, 54th Regiment: Mentioned for conduct during a fire aboard a transport with his regiment—headed a party who volunteered to throw the gunpowder overboard; Brevet of Major. Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1846-53
- (a) **HUGHES, D. E.** Surgeon-Colonel, B. M. S. ... 1853-59
- HUNTER, A. K.**, Lieutenant, 37th Madras Native Infantry ... 1837
- HUNTER, THOS. A.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 2nd Bengal Fusiliers, and 104th Foot: Indian Mutiny Campaign; Sikkim Field Force, 1860-61 ... 1847-54
- HUTCHISON, R.**, Surgeon, M.D., B.M.S. ... 1847-49
- INGLIE, R. L.**, Ensign, 13th Bengal Native Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign; wounded during defence of Lucknow, and died of his wounds at Allahabad, aged 18 ... 1850-54
- INNES, FRANK COSMO**, Nizam's Cavalry: Died 1867 ... 1846-50
- (a) **IRVINE, T. W.**, Surgeon-Captain, B. M. S. ... 1800-82
- JOHNSTONE, JAMES WILLIAM HOPE**, Colonel, 18th Bengal Native Infantry, B. S. C.: Indian Mutiny, 1857-58 (wounded twice); D'war Valley Expedition, 1872 ... 1846-47
- JOHNSTONE, R. G. HOPE**, Major, 13th Bombay Native Infantry: Adjutant, 1st Oudh Irregular Cavalry; A.D.-C. to General Mansfield, in Indian Mutiny Campaign, in operations against Lucknow ... 1839-42
- JOPP, A. C.**, Captain, R. E.: Past first into Addiscombe (See *Chronicle*, vol. i, p. 7) ... 1852-56
- JOPP KEITH**, Surgeon, M. D., Madras ... 1831-34
- KELSO, W. E. UTTERSTON**, Lieutenant, 17th Madras Native Infantry: Formerly W. E. Utterston ... 1841-45
- (a) **KIRKPATRICK, K. E.**, Lieutenant, I. S. C. ... 1879-83
- (a) **KIRKPATRICK, R.**, Surgeon-Captain, A. M. S.: Burmese War, 1886 ... 1872-75
- (a) **KIRKPATRICK, W.**, Lieutenant, I. S. C.: Burmese War, 1886; Expedition against the Miranzai ... 1873
- (a) **LAWRIE EDWARD**, Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel, B.M.S. ... 1860-83
- LEVEN, JOHN**, Colonel, 62nd Bengal Native Infantry, and I. S. C.: Indian Mutiny Campaign; Abyssinia, 1867 ... 1837-43
- LIMOND, D.**, Major-General, C.B., R.E.: Indian Mutiny Campaign; defence of Residency at Lucknow, for which granted a year's service (see Kaye, vol. iv, pp. 112 145); Afghan War, 1879, C. B. ... 1842-45
- LISTON, JOHN**, Colonel, B.S.C. ... 1845
- (a) **LOCKHART, W. E.**, Colonel, R. A.: Now in India ... 1850-55
- MCDUGALL, G. A.**, Lieutenant-Colonel, 9th Bengal Native Infantry: Indian Mutiny Campaign; N.-W. Frontier (See *Cumming Club*, p. 182) ... 1841-44
- MACDOUGALL, JAMES W.**, Colonel, M. S. C. ... 1855
- MACDOUGALL, JOHN**, Colonel, M. S. C. ... 1855
- MACDOUGALL, JOHN**, Lieutenant-Colonel, Indian Army ... 1814-7
- MACFARLAN, D.**, Lieutenant-General, C.B., R.A.: Indian Mutiny Campaign; defence of Residency at Lucknow (severely wounded), a year's service, and Brevet of Major; Expedition on N.-W. Frontier, 1864; Afghan War, 1878-79; Ordnance Consulting

- Officer for India, 1879-85 ; Commanded a Division of Bengal Army, 1885-89 ... 1842-49
- (a) MACGREGOR, M. J. R., Major-General, 18th Regiment : Afghan War, 1880 ... 1850-52
- MACKENZIE, A. K. J. O., Colonel, Bengal Cavalry : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ... 1840-44
- MACKENZIE, COLIN J., Major, Seaforth Highlanders : Egypt, 1882 ; Burma, 1887-89 ; Hazara Expeditions, 1888 and 1891 ; operations against Hunza and Nagar, 1891-92, Brevet of Major ... 18 5
- MACKENZIE, F. J. N., Colonel, B.S.C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1841-46
- MACKENZIE, G. P., Surgeon-Major, I.M.S. ... 1862 64
- MACKENZIE, J. M., Captain, I.S.O. 1837-40
- MACKENZIE, N. K. J., Lieutenant, 6th Bengal Light Cavalry : (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 182-183). Died 1856 ... 1841-46
- MACKENZIE, T., Major, 78th Highlanders : Afghan War, 1880 ... 1847-52
- MACKINTOSH, HENRY, Lieutenant, 52nd Madras Native Infantry ... 1837-38
- MACKINTOSH, JAMES, Surgeon, 32nd Madras Native Infantry ... 1826-33
- MACMASTER, A. C., Colonel, M. S. C. : Brigadier-General Commanding at Multan. Died 1879 ... 1836-38
- MACNEILL, HARRY B., Captain, Bombay Cavalry. Died 1878 ... 1853-59
- (a) MCQUEEN, SIR J. W., Major-General, K. C. B., I. S. O. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 (severely wounded at storming of Secunderabagh, relief of Lucknow) ; Mahsud Waziris, 1860 ; Bizous, 1869 ; Jowaki-Afridi Expedition, 1877-78 ; Afghan War, 1878-80 ; in command of 5th Punjab Infantry at attack on Peiwar Kotal, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel and C. B. ; Mahsud Waziris, 1881 ; Commanded Hazara Expedition, 1888, K. C. B. (Commanded Punjab Frontier Force, I think.—C. W. H.) ... 1846-48
- MAITLAND, K. R., Colonel, 79th Highlanders : Served through the whole of the Crimean War Indian Mutiny Campaign, Brevet of Major ; and with the Sikkim Field Force. Died 1893 ... 1836-40
- MARRIOTT, P. W., Surgeon, 1st European Madras Frontiers : (See *Cumming Club*, pp. 184-185) ... 1845-47
- MERCER, W. W., Captain, 7th Madras Native Infantry ... 1837-40
- (a) MOBERLY, F. J., Lieutenant, D. S. O., I. S. O. : Gained the D. S. O. for operations in the Afghan Frontier in 1893. (See *Chronicle*, vol. I, pp. 36-37) ... 1881-84
- (a) MOIR, D. M., Surgeon Captain, B. M. S. ... 1876-77
- MONCRIEFF, SIR G. S. SCOTT, Colonel, K. C. M. G., O. S. I., R. E. : Indian Mutiny Campaign Permanent Under-Secretary for Scotland. (See *Chronicle*, vol. I, p. 7, for an account of his connection with the irrigation works in Egypt.) (Was for many years in Irrigation Branch P. W. D., N.-W. P.—C. W. H.) ... 1849-52
- MONCRIEFF, G. K. SCOTT, Major, R. E. : Afghan War, 1878-80, 1864-67, 1868 71
- MORGAN, OSBORNE, Colonel, 38th Madras Native Infantry ... 1840-42
- MORTON, B. W. D., Lieutenant-General, 30th Bengal Infantry and I. S. C. : Oossyah and Jynteah Campaigns, 1863 ... 1838-40
- MORTON, G. E., Surgeon-General, I. M. S. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ; Hazara Expedition, 1868 ... 1828-32
- MORTON, W. E., Major-General, R. E. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ... 1830
- MUIR, W. J. W., Colonel, R. A. and I. S. C. ... 185 54
- (a) MURDOCH, J. BURN, Major, R. E. : Afghan War, 1878-80 (wounded at Asmai Heights) ; Egypt, 1882. The *Time* correspondent, reporting the action at Tel-el-Kebir, says : " Lieutenant Burn-Murdoch was the first man in ; galloping forward in advance of his men, he dashed into the battery and sabred the gunners as they were about to discharge their last gun." In pursuit which followed Tel-el-Kebir, Lieutenant Burn-Murdoch prevented the trains at Zag-a-Zig escaping with

- their crowds of fugitives. For his conduct he was recommended by Sir J. S. Browne for the Victoria Cross ... 1863-67
- MURRAY, ANDREW, Colonel, D. S. O., Seaforth Highlanders : Afghan War, 1880; Egypt, 1882; Hazara Campaign, 1888; D. S. O. 1847-53
- MURRAY, A. G., Major, M. S. O. : Hyderabad Contingent, 1858-59 ... 1848-51
- MURRAY, A. M., Lieutenant-Colonel, R. A. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58; Commissary of Ordnance, India ... 1833-40
- MURRAY, C. S., Lieutenant-Colonel; 72nd Highlanders : (Served with his Regiment in India in 1871.—O. W. H.) ... 1843-49
- MURRAY, JOHN, Surgeon-Colonel, Madras Army ... 1845-52
- MURRAY, R. H., Colonel, Seaforth Highlanders : Afghan War, 1878-80; Egypt, 1882, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel; Soudan, 1885 ... 1862-64
- MYLNE, W., Captain, Bengal Artillery : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 ... 1839-42
- NAPIER, G., Lieutenant-Colonel, Bombay Artillery ... 1840-42
- NASMYTH, D. J., Colonel, Bombay Engineers ... 1838-44
- NEMBIARD, W., Major-General, I. S. C. : Satlej Campaign, 1846; Burma War, 1852-53; Indian Mutiny Campaign ... 1840-42
- NEWMARCH, C. D., Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Engineers : Burmah, 1853. Died 1869 ... 1837-40
- NEWTON, W. D. O. HAY, Captain, 72nd Highlanders : Indian Mutiny Campaign. (See *Cunning Club*, p. 172) ... 1841-45
- OLIPHANT, J. S., Lieutenant, 5th European Bengal Infantry ... 1848-51
- OLIPHANT, T. T., Lieutenant, 45th Bengal Native Infantry ... 1849-52
- (a) OSWALD, F., Captain, I. S. C. ... 1878-80
- OSWALD, J. H., Lieutenant, B. S. C. : Burma, 1885. Died 1892 ... 1880
- (a) OSWALD, W. A., Captain, I. S. C. : Burma, 1886-87 ... 1875-78
- PATERSON, A., Major-General, 2nd Bengal European Fusiliers, B. S. C. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49; Burma, 1852; Bhootan, 1865-66; Afghan War, 1878-79 ... 1839-40
- PRINGLE, D., Captain, 58th Bengal Native Infantry. Died 1874 ... 1850
- PRINGLE, G. S., Ensign, 6th Bengal Native Infantry : Murdered at Allahabad by his regiment. May 1857 ... 1848-50
- PRINGLE, R., Surgeon-Lieutenant-Colonel, B. M. S. ... 1846-49
- RAMSAY, HONBLE SIR H., General, K.C.S.I., C.B., I.S.C. : Commissioner in Kumaon. Punjab Campaign, 1848-49. Died December, 1893 ... 1829-32
- (a) REID, C. C., Captain, I. S. C. ... 1874
- (a) RICHARDSON, M. L., Lieutenant, I. S. C. ... 1879
- RICHMOND, G. M., Lieutenant, 20th Punjab Native Infantry : Served in China, 1860. Killed in the Umbeyla Campaign in defence of the Eagle's Nest Post, 1863, while acting Captain ... 185-56
- ROBERTSON, A., Captain, Bengal Artillery : Afghanistan, 1842; Punjab Campaign, 1848-49; Burma, 1852; Gun-Carriage Agent at Fatehgarh in 1856; wounded in defence of the Fort and murdered by the mutineers in 1857 ... 1839
- ROBERTSON, D., Colonel, Bengal Native Infantry : Bhootan, 1865-66; Lushai, 1871-74; Brevet of Major; Naga Hills, 1879-80; Burma, 1886-87 ... 1854-56
- ROLLAND, H., Lieutenant-Colonel, 19th Bombay Native Infantry ... 1825-26
- ROOME, F., Lieutenant-General, 10th Bombay Native Infantry : Crimea, 1855-56; Indian Mutiny Campaign, Brevet of Major; Abyssinia; Afghan War, 1879-80 ... 1838-39
- (a) ROSS, A. G., Colonel, C.B., I.S.C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1858-59; Abyssinia, 1868; Jowaki Campaign, 1877-78; Afghan War, 1878-79, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel; Waziri Campaign, 1881; Zhob Valley Expedition, 1890, Commander of the Punjab Frontier Force Column ... 1850-54
- ROSS, SIR C. C. G., General, K. C. B., Bengal Army : Peshawar Hill Force, 1851-52-53; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58, Brevet of Major; Umbeyla Campaign, 1863; Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel; Jowaki-Afridi Campaign, 1878; K. O. B. 1833

ROSS, SIR E. C., Colonel, Kt., C. S. I. : Indian Mutiny Campaign	1845
ROSS, W. A., Major, R. A. : Punjab Campaign, 1848-49; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857	1836-41
(a) SAVI, T. B. B., Lieutenant-Colonel, R. E. : Bhootan Field Force, 1865-66	1853-59
SCOT, P. G., Lieutenant-General, Bengal Infantry : Satlaj, 1845-46; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58; a year's service	1833
(a) SCOTT, O. G. ROBSON, Surgeon-Lieutenant, 3rd Hussars, and R. M. S.	1877-83
(a) SEARLE, A. E., Captain, I. S. O.	1877-80
(a) SEARLE, O. T. A., Lieutenant, I. S. O.	1873
SHAW, D., General, I. S. O. : Moplah Expedition, Burma, 1885-86	1842-46
SHERIFF, J. P., Lieutenant-General, I. S. O. : Indian Mutiny Campaign; Brevet of Major on attaining regimental rank of Captain for services in the field as a subaltern; Lushai Expedition; 1871-72; Duffla Expedition, 1874-75; operations against the Nagas, 1875 and 1879-80. Good service pension, 1884. (See also <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 192-194)	1841-43
SHOWERS, H. F., Major, B. S. O.	1857
SIMPSON, J. R., Lieutenant, 10th Bengal Native Infantry : Served in Burmese War, 1852; Indian Mutiny Campaign, killed by insurgents, 4th August, 1857. (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 194-195)	1841-44
SMITH, DAVID B., Surgeon, B. M. S.	1842-48
SPENS, N. J., Captain, 72nd Highlanders : "The fanatics sped on without wavering. As they gathered behind a mound for the final onslaught, Captain Spens, with a handful of Highlanders, went out in the forlorn hope of dislodging them. A rush was made on him; he was overpowered and slaughtered after a desperate resistance."—Archibald Forbes's <i>Afghan Wars</i> , p. 250. "An acedemical writes that Captain Spens was killed during the assault on the Asmai heights, 14th December, 1879, while gallantly leading a party of Native Infantry against overwhelming odds. Lord Roberts stated in his despatches that no man was more worthy of the Victoria Cross had he lived	1854-59
SPOTTISWOODE, R. C. D'E. E., Colonel, 10th Hussars : Afghan War, 1879; Soudan Campaign, 1885, Brevet of Lieutenant-Colonel	1851-54
SPROTT, G. H., Ensing: Killed at Guzrat	1838-39
STEUART, R., Captain, Madras, (Sic)	1851-53
STIRLING, W. COLQUHOUN, Captain, 14th Madras Native Infantry, and 107th Foot	1840-44
STIRLING, SIR W., Lieutenant-General, K. C. B., R. A. : Crimean War; Indian Mutiny Campaign, Brevet of Major; China Expedition, 1860; Afghan War, 1878-79; C. B.; Governor of R. M. A., Woolwich, K. O. B. 1893	1844-48
STOCHERT, R., Captain, 4th Bengal Native Infantry: Punjab Campaign, 1848-49	1836-43
(I remember a Dick Stochert, in the class next below me, 1843-46 ?—C. W. H.)	
STRANGE, A., Major, 25th K. O. S. B. : New Zealand, 1860-63; Moplah Campaign, (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 123-124, 199-200) Died 1870	1842-44
STRANGE, T. B., Major-General, R. A. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58; Rebellion in Canada, 1885	1843-44
SWINTON, GEORGE, Lieutenant-Colonel, Bengal Engineers	1843-45
SWINTON, W. BENTINCK, Major, Madras Cavalry	1845-46
TAIT, R., Lieutenant-Colonel, 26th Madras Native Infantry	1850-52
TAYLOR, ALEX., Rev., Chaplain, Madras Establishment	1838-45
TAYLOR, A. F., Captain, Bengal Artillery	1838-40
THURBURN, H., Captain, 42nd Madras Native Infantry	1838-41
(a) TORRIE, L. J., Major, I. S. C.	1863-68

TULLOH, R. D. H., Major, 39th Bengal Native Infantry ...	1827-33
TULLOH, THOMAS, Major, 38th Bengal Native Infantry till 1857, when he raised the 21st Sikh Infantry (now 29th Bengal Native Infantry) and commanded it till 1861 : Siege of Jhansi 1838-39 ; Afghanistan, 1842 ; Satlej Campaign, 1845-46 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign ...	1827-33
TURNER, F. O., Captain, 79th Highlanders, and 39th Foot : Crimea ; Indian Mutiny Campaign ...	1848-50
TWEEDIE, A. L., Captain, 36th Madras Native Infantry ...	1837
TWEEDIE, W. J., Major (General, Madras) Native Infantry : Burma 1852-53 ...	1837
(V. C.) TWEEDIE, J. A., Colonel C. B., I. S. C. : Peshawar Frontier, 1851-52 ; Boori : Pass, 1853 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-59 ; V. C. for exceptional gallantry ; wounded. Commanded 4th Gooikhas at Umbeyla Pass, 1863 ; Hasara Campaign, 1868 ; Lushai Expedition, 1871-72 ; Afghan War, 1878 (See Forbes's <i>Afghan Wars</i> , p. 169) Died in Kurram Valley, 1880 ...	1838-40
TWEEDIE, MAURICE FRASER, Ensign, 23rd Bengal Native Infantry ...	1828-31
URQUHART, J. H., Lieutenant, R. E. : Killed in Lushai War ...	1851-53
UTTERSON, A., Major-General, 7th Bombay Native Infantry and 1st Grenadiers, B. N. I. : Served in Sind ; Persia, 1857 ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, commanded 15th Bombay Native Infantry Afghan War, 1878 ...	1842-46
UTTERSON, M. O., Lieutenant, 20th Bombay Native Infantry : Killed in the Persian Campaign, 1856. (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , pp. 208-209) ...	1842-46
VEBNOR, ROBERT, Captain, Connaught Rangers : Crimea. (Served in India with the Rangers.—C. W. H.) ...	1848-50
VERTUE, JAMES, Lieutenant-Colonel, Madras Engineers (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , p. 210). Died 1876. ...	1841-76
VERTUE, W., Colonel, I. S. O. ...	1850-55
WALKER, G. A., Lieutenant-General, 4th Madras Native Infantry ...	1838-44
WALSON, R. BOOG, Rev., Chaplain to Highland Brigade in Crimea. Indian Mutiny Campaign ...	1832-49
WAUCHOPE, J., Captain, 24th Bombay Native Infantry ...	1838-44
WEBSTER, H. W., Colonel I. S. C. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, Bhootan, 1864-65 ; Afghan War, 1879-80 ...	1854-66
WEBSTER, R. F., Major-General, 21st Bengal Native Infantry ...	1839-40
WELSH, DAVID J., Major-General, R. A. : Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1857-58 Died 1890 ...	1842-48
WHIGHAM, ROBERT, Major-General, 42nd Highlanders : Crimea. (Served in India.—C. W. H.) ...	1846-49
WILSON, BENJAMIN, Lieutenant, Madras Native Infantry ...	1838
WILSON, W. J., Colonel, 43rd Madras Native Infantry ...	1824-31
WOOD, HENRY, Captain, 3rd Light Dragoons : Afghanistan, 1842 ; Punjab Campaign, 1848-49 ...	1824-30
WRIGHT, JOHN, Captain 18th Bombay Light Infantry and 106th Foot ; Indian Mutiny Campaign, 1858. Died at Agra, 1870 ...	1846
WYLL, BENJAMIN, 1st Madras European Regiment ...	1836-39
WYLLIE, J. S., Lieutenant, 72nd Highlanders : (See <i>Cumming Club</i> , p. 221) ...	1841-44
YOUNGER, J., Colonel, R. A., Afghan War, 1878-79 ...	1851-59

THE QUARTER.

IN Europe, the death of the Czar of Russia ; in Asia, the series of brilliant successes which have brought the Japanese almost within striking distance of Mukden and Peking ; in India, the attack by the Mahsud Waziris on the British Camp at Wano, which will not improbably necessitate a punitive expedition, are the most conspicuous events of the Quarter ; of hardly less importance is the resignation of Count von Caprivi, the German Chancellor, and the substitution in his place of Prince Hohenlohe, the late Governor of Alsace Lorraine, while we, in India, have been threatened with a *contretemps* which might have proved more momentous than any of these—but the fear of which has, happily, passed away—the death of the Ameer of Afghanistan.

The news of the late Czar's dangerous illness aroused more apprehension throughout Europe than has, perhaps, been caused by a similar announcement regarding any sovereign in recent times. Whatever opinions may have been formed of his domestic policy, which was retrograde and oppressive, he was known to be emphatically a man of peace, who had not only opposed a stern resistance to warlike counsels in the past, but was resolved that, if his country were involved in hostilities during his reign, it should be through no lack of effort on his part to avert them. It was commonly believed, too, that his successor was a man of opposite mould, who, if he did not himself hasten to let loose the dogs of war, would be at small pains to prevent others from doing so.

It would be premature, at this early date, to forecast the results of the change of rulers in this respect ; but so far appearances lend no countenance to the popular expectation. On the contrary, a circular has been issued by M. de Giers, stating that the Czar is firmly resolved to follow in his father's footsteps and devote his energies to the welfare of his country, and that he will in no wise deviate from the firm policy which has aided in the maintenance of general peace.

As far as Great Britain is concerned, the Czar Nicholas II is understood to have shown a strong disposition to draw closer the bonds of friendship. It was remarked that he lost no opportunity of showing honour to the Prince of Wales during his visit to St. Petersburg to attend the funeral obsequies of the late Czar, and the imminence of a *rapprochement* between the two countries has become a common subject of

discussion in political circles. The marriage of the Czar to the Princess Alix, which took place on the 26th ultimo, should, in the natural course of things, tend to strengthen this disposition ; and, altogether, while Europe continues to be an armed camp, the political horizon could not well be less clouded than it appears to be at the present moment.

The chief features in the campaign in the Far East have been the capture by the Japanese in succession of the fortified towns of Ping Yang, Kinchow and Talienwan, and of Port Arthur, and a great naval engagement off the Yaloo river between a Chinese fleet of twelve, and a Japanese fleet of eleven war ships, in which three of the Chinese ships were sunk and one was burnt, while the Japanese lost none of theirs, though several of them were badly damaged. Ping Yang was defended by a force of Chinese variously estimated at from 12,000 to 20,000 men, who were attacked simultaneously in front and rear, and some 3,000 of whom were cut to pieces or taken prisoners. Port Arthur, which was powerfully armed and was regarded by experts as practically impregnable, was captured by assault after twenty-four hours' fighting, during which the Chinese are said to have lost two thousand and the Japanese only about as many hundred men, a disparity in the number of casualties on either side which, under the circumstances, seems barely credible. The Japanese fleet, which had for some time been blockading the place, took no part in the attack. Of the fate of the Chinese fleet, which was understood to be shut up in the harbour, nothing has been heard ; but the natural conclusion is that, unless it had escaped before the capture of the place, it must have fallen into the hands of the Japanese. One corps of the victorious army is reported to have re-embarked for Shan-hai-khwan, whence it is intended to march on Peking. In the North the invaders, according to the latest accounts, had arrived within forty miles of Mukden.

An impression at first prevailed that the capture of Port Arthur would bring the war to an end ; but, though the Chinese have approached the Japanese with overtures for peace, and are said to have offered to abandon the suzerainty of the Korea and pay a heavy indemnity, the Japanese have refused to treat, on the ground that Herr Detring, the envoy who carried these proposals, was not properly accredited. In the meantime, the Mikado, in his congratulatory message to Marshal Oyama, who commanded the attacking force, insists on the necessity of increased activity in the prosecution of the war, the end of which he declares to be far off, and active preparations are being made for a winter campaign. Everything seems to indicate that the Japanese will be satisfied with nothing less than the capture of Peking itself, and the collapse

of the defence is so utter, that they will probably have little difficulty in accomplishing this feat. Of intervention on the part of the Powers there seems at present to be little prospect, an attempt on the part of England to bring such a movement about having failed, mainly owing to the refusal of Germany to join in it, while, though America has offered to mediate, the Japanese have declined to deal otherwise than directly with Peking.

Hints have been thrown out by the *Times* that there are limits beyond which Japanese expansion at the expense of China will be treated as inconsistent with other interests; but it is doubtful whether the threat has any better basis than private opinion as to the attitude the Powers ought to adopt, and still more doubtful whether, in the not improbable event of Japan refusing to be bullied into foregoing any of the fruits of her victory, any of the Powers would take up arms to coerce her.

The resignation of the German Chancellor seems to have arisen out of serious differences between him and Count Eulenberg, the President of the Prussian Ministry, on the subject of the policy to be adopted towards the Socialists, the former advocating moderate measures, and the latter a stringent system of repression. The Emperor, who at first had been disposed to adopt Count Eulenberg's views, is understood to have subsequently made up his mind to accept those of the Chancellor; but the premature appearance in the *Cologne Gazette* of a semi-official article, announcing the triumph of Count von Caprivi in too unqualified terms, gave grave offence and led to a demand for its withdrawal, the result of which was that the Chancellor tendered his resignation, which was accepted, and Count Eulenberg immediately afterwards tendered his, with the same result. The change is not expected to affect the foreign policy of Germany; but it is considered not improbable that it will be followed by the adoption of a more active Colonial policy.

Among the speeches delivered by the Party leaders in England during the Parliamentary recess, the most noteworthy have been those of Lord Rosebery at Bradford and the Guildhall, the former for the light it throws on the intentions of the Government in the coming Session, and the latter for the account given in it of the state of relations between England and Russia. At Bradford the Premier announced that the Government would propose a Resolution for a revision of the powers of the House of Lords, which, if adopted, would be followed by an appeal to the country.

Referring to the statement that the country had shown itself indifferent to the question, he argued that for that reason

the moment was specially favourable for action. "It is not," he said, "a moment of passion; it is not a moment of reaction; and if the Tories say it is a moment of apathy with regard to the House of Lords, we reply that that is reason for dealing with the House of Lords with exceptional promptitude. If, on the other hand, there is, as we believe, a feeling of subdued but persistent resentment against the House of Lords, it is equally a moment to deal with the question."

That, however, is scarcely the light in which the head of a Ministry might be expected to look at the matter unless he were riding for a fall, for the question is eminently one on which those who are not for action would be likely to vote against so radical a change.

Regarding the nature of the proposed Resolution, Lord Rosebery was silent; but he pointed out that, while the Upper House had remained unchanged, the House of Commons had, three times within the last 60 years, been popularised by great constitutional changes in a democratic direction. Thus they had at present, on the one side, a representative Chamber elected on a wide popular basis; and, on the other, a House composed almost entirely of hereditary peers opposed to popular aspirations. Whether at the next election there were 100 or 600 Liberals returned to the House of Commons, there would still be only 30 Liberal peers in the Upper House. This was a mere mockery of free institutions. He confessed that in principle he was a second Chamber man; he was not for the uncontrolled government of a single Chamber, any more than for the uncontrolled government of a single man. But if he were bound to choose between no second Chamber at all and a second Chamber constituted as the House of Lords was, he would have cause for hesitation with regard to his principle. He further said that, to his mind, "it was an absolute danger, an invitation to revolution, that there should be an assembly occupying the position of the House of Lords, and preventing Liberal legislation from being carried except by menace. In his judgment the House of Lords was not a second Chamber at all, but a permanent party organisation, controlled for party purposes by party managers."

Lord Salisbury, at a Unionist Meeting at the Empire Palace Theatre, said, in reply, that he did not believe Lord Rosebery to be in earnest, but they must deal with his portentous utterance as it presented itself. After declaring that it was beyond the power of the Premier to determine what should be the subject of the reference to the electors, who would choose what most concerned them, and severely criticising the vagueness of his statement, he went on to say that Lord Rosebery's Resolution would probably be passed, but

it would not possess any force, for the House of Lords would pass another Resolution. Other agencies than these would be needed to change the Constitution. Physical force could overthrow the House of Lords, but the country, he maintained, would never use it. The struggle would be desperate and long ; and while it lasted, nothing else could be done. It would be the death-blow to legislation for the elevation of the masses.

It is understood to be the intention of the Government to proceed first with their Registration and Local Option Bills, in the expectation, probably, that they will be thrown out by the Lords and thus furnish a further confirmation of their indictment of that body. People naturally ask what will be gained by a Resolution which, whatever the result of the appeal to the country may be as regards the balance of parties, must remain a Resolution and nothing more, and which, unless the Lords choose to accept it as an invitation to them to reform themselves, and bring in a Bill for the purpose, cannot advance matters one jot.

In his Guildhall speech, Lord Rosebery, referring to the advice that had been given the Government that they should seize the occasion of the change of rulers in Russia to enter into more cordial relations with her, said that Her Majesty's Government had anticipated it. Ever since they had been in power, their relations with Russia had been more cordial than he had ever remembered them to be. They had as nearly as possible, he hoped and believed, terminated the long standing difficulty regarding the delimitation of their respective spheres in Central Asia, thus removing almost the only dangerous question that arises between the two powers, and he added an expression of his belief that, if Russia and England could march with cordiality and without suspicion in Asiatic affairs, one great step towards the peace of the world would have been taken.

According to the Moscow correspondent of the *Standard*, one item in the understanding which has been arrived at is, that the country between the Murghabi-Aksu, claimed by England, and the Panja Sarhad, claimed by Russia, as the true Oxus, shall be neutralised, by way of establishing a *modus vivendi*, but not as a permanent arrangement.

The reference to the war between China and Japan, contained in the same speech, lends no countenance to the notion that the Government are likely to adopt a policy of forcible intervention. " We are determined," said Lord Rosebery, " to maintain that strict neutrality which should be the position of Great Britain in such a war. We cannot, on the one hand, forget that we have of late shown the most strong and tangible proof of our friendship to Japan by concluding a treaty with the object

of a treaty revision, which is what Japan has most had at heart, and which we are the first of the European Powers to give her; and, on the other hand, we cannot forget that our frontier line with China is over 4,000 miles in extent; that in recent and later years China has shown herself a friend of this country, and, therefore, in preserving a neutrality to both Powers, we have preserved a benevolent neutrality. In what way can we show that benevolence more than by attempting to secure the blessings of peace? And although we have not as yet been successful, and in my opinion we had little right to hope to be successful, we do not repent any efforts that we have made. In this delicate and difficult business we have acted hand in hand with Russia, the other Power mainly interested. In any pacific means that would secure the termination of the war on terms honourable to Japan and not disastrous to China, we would gladly join. In itself that cordial action with Russia is a fact over which we may rejoice."

The Royal Commission on the question of the amalgamation of the County and City of London have presented their Report. Their recommendations, which are strongly condemned by the Conservatives, but command the approval of the Radicals, are to the effect that the whole area of the present administrative County of London, including the City, should, in future, be called the City of London, and should be a county in itself, while the City as now known, should hereafter be styled the "Old City." The governing body, practically the existing County Council, with representatives of the Old City added, should be incorporated under the name of the "Mayor and Commonalty and Citizens of London," and should succeed to the present Corporation of the Old City and the London County Council.

The elections in the United States have resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Republicans, whose majority in the House of Representatives will, it is stated, now be fully a hundred. President Cleveland's message announces that efforts will continue to be made to counteract the depletion of the Treasury gold reserve by the issue of bonds until the existing law is altered, and pronounces strongly in favour of a scheme to modify the present banking laws and provide for the issue of circulating notes by State banks free from tax. In the meantime a deficiency of seventy million dollars in last year's budget is reported, and the excess of revenue over expenditure for the current year is estimated at twenty million dollars.

The serious illness of the Amir has had the effect of bringing home forcibly to the British public, and, no doubt, to the Government, the gravity of what the *Spectator* calls the

"abominable complication" of the presence of European British subjects in Kabul. The position is one of extreme awkwardness. The Government would probably much prefer that there should be no Englishmen or Englishwomen in Kabul, at all events with its acquiescence. Yet it would hardly be, and certainly would not seem, consistent with its friendship for the Amir, or its professions of anxiety for his welfare, that it should take steps which would have the effect of debarring him from availing himself of such assistance for purposes so laudable as those for which the services of Sir Thomas Salter Pyne, Miss Hamilton, and the other Europeans at present employed by him are entertained. The result, moreover, of its taking such steps would almost inevitably be that the Amir would turn elsewhere for the requisite assistance, and thus an even more serious element of risk, of a different complexion, would be imported into the situation.

According to recent accounts the Amir has made a most remarkable recovery, for he is said to be in excellent health, and one is tempted to think that his illness must have been exaggerated, though he himself seems to have considered it serious enough to justify him in calling together his Generals and Sardars, and announcing to them the appointment of his eldest son, Habibullah, as his successor.

The attack of Mullah Powindah and his followers, to the number of some three thousand, on General Turner's camp at Wano, which took place at dawn on the 3rd November, was a most determined affair, and, but for the excellent arrangements of the camp and the gallant conduct of the Gurkhas, on whom the brunt of the attack fell, and the Punjabis, would probably have been attended with much more serious results. As it is, our casualties were heavy, including Lieutenant P. J. Macaulay, killed on the spot, and Lieutenant Angelo, of the 1st Gurkhas, who has since died of his wounds; Captain Lang and Lieutenant Herbert, of the 1st Gurkhas, Surgeon-Major Haig, of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, Lieutenant Hornby, of the 24th Beluchistan regiment, and Lieutenant Thompson, of the 26th Punjab Infantry, wounded, besides two Gurkha native officers, seventeen Gurkhas, one man of the 1st Punjab Cavalry and twenty-four followers, killed, and forty-one Gurkhas, two men of the 20th Punjab Cavalry, four men of the 1st Punjab Cavalry, and twenty-two followers, wounded. The enemy, who dispersed after the fight and pursuit, though another large body of tribesmen had gathered in the neighborhood to support them, are said to have left 500 killed and wounded on the ground.

The ultimatum which has been sent to the Mahsud Waziris, is said to include the surrender of a number of offenders, the furnishing of hostages, the expulsion of Mullah Powindah from

the country, and the restoration of the Government property plundered in the recent raids. Up to the 1st instant, the date originally fixed for their decision, they had, owing, it is alleged, mainly to the opposition of the Mullah, not agreed to these terms, but had applied for an extension of time to the 13th instant, which has been granted. In the meantime a formidable force is held in readiness to operate against them in case of necessity.

A complete discussion of the policy which has led to this collision would be out of place here ; but it is difficult to believe that any such stern necessity existed for the delimitation of a sphere of influence in Waziristan as to warrant the Government of India in incurring the grave risk involved in the operation ; and, though it may be said that the previous recent conduct of the Waziris would in any case have necessitated their punishment, it is open to the opponents of our new frontier policy to argue, that, had we been content with our old boundaries, no such provocation would have been received.

This year's Viceregal tour, including, as it has done, so much of our most recently-acquired territory and some of the most important of our frontier defensive works, has been one of exceptional interest. Among the places of importance at which halts were made, were Dhurmsala ; Amritsar, where the Viceroy visited the famous Golden Temple and witnessed the ceremony of the Pahal or Sikh initiation ; Sukkur, where the Canal, the Adamshah Forts, and the new water-works were inspected, and the Khan of Khairpur and the stipendiary Mirs of Sind were received ; and Quetta, where his Excellency received the Jam of Khelat, held a levée, inspected the fortifications and witnessed some interesting military manoeuvres. From this place an excursion was made to the Khojak and New Chaman, after the return of the party from which a grand durbar was held and the Khan of Khelat invested.

Leaving Quetta on the 8th November, the Viceregal party travelled, *via* Sibi, to Shikarpur, where the local Sardars were received in the railway station. At Karachi, where he arrived on the 10th, the Viceroy visited the Sind Art College, Hassan Ali's School, Peeamari and the Erskine wharf, and Manora Fort ; held a levée ; was presented with addresses by the Chamber of Commerce, the Municipality and the Hindu and Mahommedan Societies, and inspected the troop., while Lady Elgin laid the foundation-stone of the Lady Dufferin Hospital. The next stage in the journey was Multan, where the time was passed quietly. At Rawal Pindi, which was next reached, the defences were inspected, and a sham fight was witnessed and a levée held. From Peshawar, the next halting-place, where also a levée and parade were held, the Viceroy visited

the Khyber Pass as far as Ali Masjid, and the party, proceeding thence to Attock on the Indus, embarked in boats for Kalabagh. Landing there amid a blaze of bonfires and illuminations, they travelled by special train to Khewrie and inspected the remarkable and interesting salt-mines there. Then, resuming their railway journey, they halted at Bhaodin and visited the field of Chillianwala, which was reached in ekkas, rejoining the train at Chillianwala station, and arriving at Lahore on the morning of the 26th November. At the Lahore railway station, a large number of the ruling Chiefs of the Punjab were assembled to welcome the Viceroy, including Kashmir, Patiala, Bahawalpur, Kapurthala, Jhind, Nabha, Faridkot, Chumba and Suker. After the inevitable Municipal address had been received, the party drove to the Viceregal Camp, accompanied by all the principal officials and local chiefs in procession. At night a levée was held, at which the officers of the Regular and Imperial Service regiments in Camp were presented; and the following day was spent in receiving and returning visits. On the 29th a grand review was held at Mian Mir; in the afternoon the lions of Lahore were visited, and in the evening a ball was given by the Civil Services at the Montgomery Hall. But the great event of the visit, and, indeed, of the tour, was the durbar held in the Viceregal Camp, on the morning of the 30th, at which Lord Elgin addressed the assembled Princes and Chiefs at considerable length.

The same evening His Excellency attended the St. Andrew's dinner given by the Highland Brigade. The following day a Convocation of the local University was held, and the degree of Doctor of Literature was conferred on the Viceroy, who made an interesting speech on the occasion. An evening party was given by the Lieutenant-Governor at the Shalimar Gardens, and a dinner by the Viceroy in the evening.

With the exception of the address at the durbar at Lahore and that at the Convocation of the University at the same place, the speeches made by Lord Elgin in the course of his tour have been marked by the studied reticence which has characterised his public utterances generally, since his arrival in the country, and which was beginning to assume the appearance of lack of self-confidence or independence. The address to the Chiefs at Lahore was more outspoken, and, though it disclosed no signs of originality, was eminently statesmanlike in both substance and tone.

Referring to the frontier policy of the Government and its relations with Afghanistan and Russia, he said :—

The time has not yet come when we can set aside as of no account the martial instincts of your race. Journeying round the frontier, and examining the forts erected for its defence at great

cost, now well nigh complete, I could not but think that there was only one thing more required to make our positions impregnable, and that was brave men to hold them. Here, in the home of brave men, we have seen yesterday the fine regiments of the Imperial Service Troops which the Princes and Chiefs of the Punjab have raised for the avowed purpose of testifying to the world their determination to make common cause with us in the defence of the Empire. It will be my pleasing duty to report to Her Majesty, knowing as I do how sincerely she appreciates such proofs of loyal devotion from the Princes and Chiefs of India, the gallant bearing of the troops that I have seen here. One word of caution I may add : We seek to be strong that we may be at peace. We have no ambition for conquest ; no desire to extend our boundaries ; no other wish than to cultivate friendship with our neighbours. From the recent speech of the Prime Minister of England you will have learned that there is reason to hope that the time is approaching when all risk of the clashing of Russian and British interests in Asia will be obviated, and I venture to say that no more welcome intelligence could be conveyed to any lover of India. We have the great advantage of a firm friend and ally in the ruler of Afghanistan. His Highness the Ameer, whose recovery from his late illness we all hailed with pleasure, has honourably recognised the obligations of the treaty of last year. The difficulties of an undefined frontier have already been removed in part, and will, I hope, soon be entirely swept away by the efforts of the Afghan and British officers working on terms of the most complete amity. It is our own aim and ambition so to regulate our relations with the brave undisciplined inhabitants of the hills on our Western border, as at the same time, to ensure the peace and security for life and property upon which our treaty obligations and the dictates of humanity compel us to insist, as to leave to them the entire occupation of their country, the fullest measure of autonomy, and the most complete liberty in their internal affairs and their tribal customs. I need not say with how much regret I have seen clouds arise in Waziristan and darken the prospect. I trust they will roll away. I can safely assert, on behalf of the Government of India, that, though they will not allow any obstacle to prevent their pushing on to their goal and establishing, as they intend to do, peace and order on this part of your frontier, they will not deviate from the profession I have just made, they will not be turned aside by any desire for retaliation, but will maintain their set purpose of securing by peaceful means, if at all possible, one of the last links in the chain of friendly peoples.

In connexion with the land question he remarked :—

There is no use in shutting our eyes to the fact that there are still questions of great importance affecting the conditions under which land is held and the position of cultivators that demand solution. There are evils which follow close in the train of increasing population and increasing demands for the application

of capital to land, which, unless regulated and restrained, cripple the resources of men struggling to preserve their independence, and tend to bring into existence undesirable relations between owners and occupiers. Rest assured that Government will approach these questions with sympathy, as well as with caution, as I think I may claim that they have shown in their recent Resolution on Forest management, to which my hon'ble colleague, Sir A. MacDonnell, has devoted so much time and attention. No Government can afford to view with indifference the embarrassment of a class of men who, here in the Punjab, have often proved the backbone of the State in peace and in war.

The address concluded with some words of friendly counsel and encouragement to the Chiefs:—

I desire now to say a few words to connect the lessons of the past with the duties of the future. I wish to associate you, Princes and Chiefs, with the British Government in this matter. The British Government is proud to base its claim to the loyalty of the people of India on the justice, purity, and benevolence of its administration. Depend upon it, you can rely on no surer foundation. It used to be said that it was a fierce light which beat upon a throne; it beats now on every act of every ruler, I might almost say of every officer of Government. I am no foe to criticism, and though I think that some of the criticism to which the Government of India is subjected is ill-judged, and, perhaps, on occasion, ignorant and prejudiced, I have to tell you that, however you may despise dishonest or abusive language, you must not look to escape honest and fair criticism. The pursuit of pleasure instead of duty, expenditure on self-indulgence, of revenues that ought to be devoted to the public advantage, the neglect of opportunities which high position, ancient lineage, and great wealth can give, will not, in these days, escape observation, and will bring with them their own punishment, in the public reprobation which, I am bound to say, they will deserve. I am glad to know that, amongst the Chiefs of the Punjab, there are those who have recognised their responsibilities, and who, in the management of their States, have shown an example from which any one of us might take a lesson; and I trust the good seed they have sown may bear fruit. Princes and Chiefs, I am not here to call you to deeds of arms, but I do invite you to a contest—a contest in which you have not to overcome a single rival, but to match yourselves against the whole world. You start with many advantages: a country of marked fertility, an energetic and industrious population, personal prestige, peace abroad; and if you and your people fail to respond to the summons, I at least have done my duty as representative of the Queen-Empress in placing before you, as strongly as I can, the obligation which lies upon you, as Her Majesty's loyal subjects, here in this portion of the Empire she loves so well, to dare and to achieve the same triumphs of peace that elsewhere have characterised and immortalised her glorious reign."

Sir Charles Elliott availed himself of his brief autumn holiday to pay a visit to the Nepalese Capital, where he was the guest of the Resident. During his stay, he received a visit from Sir Shumsher Jung, Rana Bahadur, the Prime Minister, and paid one to the Maharaja, and subsequently a reception was held at the Residency, at which the Maharaja attended. He was also present at a grand review of the troops held in his honour, and visited the local school and hospital, the shrine of Balajee, the Shivite temple of Pashupati, and the Buddhist temples of Boudh Nath and Shambhu Nath.

Not the least important event of the quarter has been the issue of a Forest Resolution by the Government of India, which may be said to mark a new departure in this branch of the administration. The principles laid down in this document, which had been, to some extent, foreshadowed by Sir E. Buck's Circular of October, 1891, are that the sole object with which Forests are administered by the State is the public benefit; that the end aimed at should be the greatest good of the community, and, as far as possible, mere Revenue considerations must be subordinated to the convenience and welfare of the people in any way dependent on the forests. The subject is dealt with in considerable detail in the Resolution, in which forests are classified according to their character and the nature of the grounds for their preservation. Thus, where the need for this depends on physical conditions, they are to be preserved so far as may be essential to secure the object aimed at. Where they are sources of large and valuable timber, they are to be managed on commercial lines, but every reasonable facility is to be allowed the people on their margins to satisfy their customary needs on easy terms. Where the land is required for the purposes of agriculture, forest areas are to be unhesitatingly relinquished, on certain conditions, such as that valuable forest is not to be honeycombed by isolated patches of cultivation; areas must not be cleared where the result would be sterilisation of the soil, or merely for temporary cultivation, and the like. In the case of minor forests which supply fuel, fodder or grazing, all revenue is not to be foregone; but, while the wood and grass are to be preserved from destruction, the produce is to be supplied on moderate terms to the greatest advantage and convenience of the people.

It will not always be an easy matter to draw the line between undue severity and wasteful leniency in practice, but if Forest Officers act in the spirit in which the Resolution is framed, a serious and widespread cause of grievance will be greatly mitigated.

The long expected Army re-organisation scheme was published in the *Gazette of India* on the 26th October. Under it the

Army in India will consist of four Commands, the Punjab and the Bengal, comprising the Bengal Army ; the Madras, and the Bombay. These Commands will be under Lieutenant Generals, who will be under the direct command of the Commander-in-Chief of India. The District Commands will be distributed as under :—

PUNJAB COMMAND.

*Head-Quarters—**

1st class Districts	2nd class Districts.
Lahore.	Peshawar.
Punjab Frontier Force.	Sirhind.
Rawal Pindi.	

BENGAL COMMAND.

*Head-Quarters—**

1st class Districts.	2nd class Districts.
Meerut.	Allahabad.
Oudh.	Assam.
	Bundelkhand.
	Narbudda.
	Presidency.
	Rohilkhand.

MADRAS COMMAND.

Head-Quarters, Octacamund.

Burma.	Bangalore.
Secunderabad.	Belgaum.
	Madras.
	Mandalay.
	Rangoon.
	Southern.

BOMBAY COMMAND.

Head Quarters. Poona.

Mhow.	Aden.
Poona.	Bombay.
Quetta.	Deesa.
	Nagpore.
	Sindh.

The Secretary of State has given his final decision regarding the matter of the Behar Cadastral Survey, transferring one eighth of the cost from the tenants to the Government, and sanctioning a trial of Sir Charles Elliott's scheme for maintaining the record by means of a system of registration.

An important step, and one in advance of anything yet attempted by the British Government, is about to be taken in Mysore, where, as announced by the Dewan, in presenting his annual Budget to the Representative Assembly, the State has decided to grant facilities for the establishment of agricultural banks on the co-operative system.

The conversion scheme, the success of which has far surpassed general expectation, reached its final stage on the 8th

October, when a *Gazette of India* Extraordinary was issued, giving holders of outstanding loans the option of transferring them to the new $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cents.

The Government of India in the Public Works Department, has announced that 520 lakhs will be given for irrigation and railway works in the current year, and 500 lakhs in each of the next two years. Among the projects to be taken in hand at once are the linking up of the narrow gauge from Cawnpore to Byramghat ; the Rohri-Kotri chord ; the Wazirabad—Lyallpore ; the Ennore—Madras section of the Bezwada line, and the Rutlam—Ujain line.

The Burmo-Chinese Convention has at last been ratified. It settles the frontier and recognises the Chinese suzerainty over Kiang-Hung. Trade from Burmah to China is to be restricted to two routes—by Manwyne and Sansi—, which, it is said, are neither the only nor the best routes in actual use, while trade from China to Burmah is to be allowed by all routes, a singularly one-sided arrangement for which there is no evident justification.

The members of the joint Anglo-French Commission for the delimitation of the Buffer State between Siam and French territory have been appointed, and are expected to assemble by the 1st January ; but their functions are limited to investigating and reporting, so that the matter may be still a long way from settlement.

The city of Poonah has been the scene of a recrudescence of the Hindu-Mahomedan feud. A serious riot occurred there on the night of the 12th September, owing to the members of a Hindu procession, contrary to the orders of the police, playing a harmonium while passing a mosque, where, it was claimed, the Mahomedans were engaged in public worship. The Mahomedans in the mosque expostulated, and, the Hindus refusing to desist, attacked them, but were outnumbered and driven off. Subsequently the Hindus ransacked the mosque, and during the rioting, which lasted till 3 A.M., many persons were injured, and one Mahomedan was killed. The shops in the city were closed, and great excitement prevailed for several days. A large number of arrests of Hindus were made by the police, and several of them were committed to the Sessions, where, however, they were all acquitted, the Judge holding that the police orders were illegal, and the accused had not exceeded the limits of self-defence.

An important Bill has been introduced into the Legislative Council of India by Sir A. MacDonnell, to amend the Police Act of 1886, by enabling Magistrates to exempt persons or classes whom they may consider blameless, from liability for the cost of punitive police quartered on a disturbed

locality ; to declare persons interested in land in such a locality liable for such cost, though they may not be actually resident or present on the spot ; and to levy compensation and award it to injured persons in cases of disturbances where no punitive police force has been quartered on the locality, besides other minor amendments.

The Government of India have declined to sanction the proposal of the Madras Government to introduce a Bill for the better control of Hindu endowments in that Presidency, as involving a departure from the policy of non-intervention deliberately arrived at thirty years ago ; and a similar decision has been arrived at, on a reference from the Government of Bengal, as regards the memorials recently submitted to it by the British Indian Association and the Indian Association on the same subject.

The obituary for the quarter includes the names of Alexander III, Czar of Russia ; the Duke of Somerset ; Earl Grey ; Viscount Drumlanrig ; M. Ferdinand de Lesseps ; Froude, the historian ; Rubenstein, the well-known musical composer ; Professor Helmholtz, the famous physicist ; Mr. P. G. Hamerton ; Dr. Terrien de Lacouperie, the sinologist ; Henry Herman, dramatist ; Heinrich Hoffman, the author of *Struwwelpeter* ; M. Louis Figuier ; Admiral Symond ; Bishop Blomfield ; Mr. John Walter, of the *Times* ; Mr. C. E. Kane, of the *Times of India* ; and Sir Alfred Stephen.

J. W. F.

December 10th, 1894.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Review of the Trade of India in 1893-94. By J. E. O'CONOR, C. I. E., Assistant Secretary to the Government of India, Finance and Commerce Department ; Honorary Fellow of the Royal Statistical Society ; Member of the International Statistical Institute. Simla : Government Central Branch Press, 1894.

MR. O'CONOR is an authority on Economics possessed of critical insight as well as Catholic breadth of view. His carefully-thought-out statements and close-knitted conclusions do not admit of paraphrase ; and so, finding his review of the Trade of British India for the official year ending March 31, 1894, on our table, and having regard to the vital importance at this time of the exchange quandary, and the relations that our Sea-borne Foreign Trade bears to it, we opine that the best thing we can do in the interests of all those who are interested in the subject, is to reproduce his General Summary of the situation, as indicated by the figures shown and the teachings they are chargeable with. Here it is :—

Two events of the first importance stand out in the trade history of the year 1893-94. On the 26th June, 1893, the Indian mints were closed to the coinage of silver for the public, as a preliminary to the ultimate adoption of a gold standard. On the 10th March, 1894, a tariff of import duties on general merchandise was imposed, cotton yarns and goods being exempted. The régime of free trade, which was finally established in 1882 by the repeal of the then existing tariff, thus came to an end.

As the tariff came into operation only three weeks before the close of the year, it had no perceptible effect on trade, and any discussion of its operation must be adjourned until further experience has been gained by the lapse of time.

The closing of the mints, which took place towards the end of the first quarter of the year, had an immediate and most important bearing on trade, and the effects of the measure must be specially noticed.

It was mentioned in the review of the trade of 1892-93, that trade had been subject to unfavourable influences in the three years ending with that year :—

In 1890-91 its course was violently interrupted by a sudden and rapid rise in exchange followed by an equally sudden and rapid fall. In 1891-92 exchange fell still further and heavily, and a reaction in the import trade followed the temporary stimulus given to it by the rise in exchange in the preceding

year. Trade generally was depressed, except in wheat and seeds, for which there was a large demand arising out of the failure of the Russian and other European harvests. In 1892-93 this demand no longer existed, and the depression of trade continued, accompanied by a further fall in exchange so continuous and persistent as to create grave anxiety. Imports were greatly reduced in volume, merchants being reluctant to import and dealers to buy, while exchange remained in such conditions that transactions might involve them in the most serious embarrassments. Exports also were restricted, by reason partly of lack of demand in Europe where trade was generally much depressed, partly of abundant supplies from other countries, and partly of more or less unfavourable harvests in India.

In 1893-94 our foreign trade had to contend with the difficulties created by the continuance of trade depression in Europe, and by the financial and commercial conditions of the United States and Australia. On top of these difficulties came the measures taken by the Government for the reform of the currency which had the effect of temporarily dislocating and disorganising trade in a very remarkable manner. The subjoined figures give the value of the trade of the year and of the four preceding years :—

Imports—

	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Merchandise	66,560,121	60,034,700	66,587,457	62,615,030	73,956,957
Gold	5,071,027	6,500,812	4,118,020	1,781,789	3,146,530
Silver	12,388,274	15,418,654	10,603,733	25,228,021	15,278,726
Total Imports ..	84,019,422	90,954,386	81,310,199	79,614,800	92,382,213

Exports—

	1889-90.	1890-91.	1891-92.	1892-93.	1893-94.
	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.	Rx.
Foreign merchandise re-exported	4,295,818	4,231,529	4,485,179	4,590,890	4,431,075
Indian merchandise	99,101,055	95,902,193	123,550,831	101,915,707	102,015,615
Gold	455,713	804,660	1,705,137	4,094,472	2,505,284
Silver	1,380,296	1,207,246	1,438,249	2,314,522	1,519,453
Total Exports ..	105,238,782	102,207,628	111,179,996	113,464,991	110,472,327

The total trade—imports and exports together—was—

1889 90	...	Rx.	189,258,204
1890 91	...	"	193,162,014
1891 92	...	"	192,489,315
1892-93	...	"	193,079,831
1893-94	...	"	202,854,540

Including Government transactions the aggregate trade of the five years was—

1889 90	...	Rx.	192,023,710
1890-91	...	"	196,260,383
1891-92	...	"	195,615,322
1892-93	...	"	196,829,486
1893 94	...	"	206,086,249

As soon as the mints were closed, exchange advanced from a rate of about $14\frac{1}{2}d.$ to $16d.$, which was the rate at which the Government declared that gold would be received in exchange for silver. It became immediately apparent, however, that the advance was speculative and could not be maintained; that the rupee currency was redundant; and that the exchange value of

the rupee was much less than 16*d*. The rate began to fall, but meanwhile importers took advantage of the temporarily high rate, as they did in 1890-91, to put their goods on the Indian market as fast as possible. The market was ready to receive them, for the imports of the preceding year had been on a very restricted scale and stocks had run low. The imports continued very actively long after exchange had begun to fall, and indeed the trade was carried on quite to the end of the year with unusual vigour, importers being apprehensive that the rupee might continue its fall until it reached the level of its intrinsic value in silver, as was freely prophesied by some who incautiously assigned a date when that event would come to pass. The result was that the value of imported merchandise by the end of the year exceeded that of the preceding year by no less than 18 per cent.

Imports of gold also increased by over 76 per cent., but the imports of the preceding year had been relatively small, and imports of the year were below the average.

Imports of silver were even larger than in 1892-93 when they had been almost unprecedentedly large. It was always considered that, even with closed mints, an extensive demand for silver would exist in India, but nobody ever dreamt that the closure of the mints would be the signal for such colossal speculation in the metal as actually occurred. Speculation began as soon as it was rumoured that the mints would be closed, and great quantities were rushed into the country in the hope that they would arrive before the closure. The recommendations of Lord Herschell's Currency Committee were divulged in Europe some weeks before action was taken on them in India, and then further large quantities of silver were at once shipped to India in the hope that they might arrive before the mints were actually closed. As the months went by, the fall in the price of silver bullion stimulated speculation therein, the native purchaser of ornaments still remaining in the densest ignorance of the fact that silver and the rupee had been divorced and buying freely to take advantage of what he thought was temporary and inexplicable cheapness. These dealings were freely encouraged by the Banks who were unwilling to buy Council Bills, while the Secretary of State insisted on only offering them for sale at a fixed minimum, for the importation of bar silver enabled them to obtain rupees in India which, without those imports, they would have had to obtain through the medium of Council Bills. The importation continued largely until November, when there were indications of restriction in the business. But just then rumours were industriously circulated that the mints were to be reopened, and these were sufficient to revive speculation in full force. Not until quite the end of the

official year did the imports show a tendency to diminution. In the first three months of the present year the imports have been on a much smaller scale.

The total imports of merchandise, gold, and silver in the year were 16 per cent. larger than in the preceding year. They were larger by only $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. than the imports of 1890-91, when similar exceptional results flowed from the existence of analogous conditions during a part of that year.

In the imports of merchandise we find that the largest increase, amounting to more than half of the whole—Rx. 63 $\frac{1}{4}$ millions out of an aggregate increase in all kinds of merchandise of Rx. 111 $\frac{1}{3}$ millions—occurred in cotton goods, including yarns. The imports of these in the preceding year had been on a most restricted scale, and stocks in the hands of traders had been reduced to a low level. The goods that were imported therefore found a ready market. Imports of metals, also, which had been relatively small in the preceding year, greatly increased. The increase in cotton goods and metals amounted to 68 per cent. of the whole increase, the value of these goods being little more than half of the aggregate import trade.

While the import trade was increasing to this unusual degree under the influence of the temporary stimulus which was given to it by the introduction of the currency reform, the export trade suffered from the action of the same influences.

The re-export trade (foreign merchandise) was rather smaller than in the preceding year, and the exports of Indian merchandise were only fractionally in excess of the trade of 1892-93. In most articles of this trade there was indeed a substantial increase, and in some the enlargement was noticeable. But three articles of great prominence in the trade fell off considerably, and the decline in these was great enough to produce the general result that the aggregate value of the exports of Indian merchandise exhibited no appreciable increase over that of the preceding year. In cotton yarn and goods there was a decline of Rx. 1,858,100, being nearly 23 per cent. In opium the decline amounted to Rx. 1,235,585, being 13.3 per cent. In grain and pulse the decline was Rx. 4,237,830, being 20.6 per cent. If the value of the trade in these three items had remained at the level of the preceding year, the aggregate value of exports of Indian merchandise would have increased by Rx. 773,315.15 and would have been larger than that of 1891-92 by over 5 per cent.

The decline under grain and pulse was due, not to anything connected with the currency system, but entirely to the conditions of the European and Indian markets. The rice millers in Burma, unable to carry on a profitable trade with Europe at the low level of prices there prevailing for all grains, rice included, combined during the last two seasons to reduce the very

high prices which had been given for some years to producers; as the result of competition to secure sufficient unhusked rice for the working of the mills. The cultivators objected to the reduction and withheld their rice for as long as they could, with the result that comparatively little was brought in by them in January, February, and March 1894, and the exports of these months were much smaller than usual owing to this cause as well as to the fall in prices in Europe. Since the end of March, however, conditions have somewhat changed, higher prices have been given under the encouragement of better markets in Europe, and the trade has been more than normally large. Another cause for the restriction lay in the active demand in India for Burma rice at better prices than those ruling in the European markets, and the grain was shipped in the year in very large quantities to the ports of India.

It was anticipated early in the year 1893-94 that the export of wheat would not exceed the average. Price in India ruled high, the Panjab harvest had not turned out very well, and prices in Europe had fallen to such a low level as to make exports unprofitable. Prices continued to fall in Europe, under the influence of abundant harvests and large supplies, until they reached the lowest level on record; and, though prices also receded in India, business was unprofitable and the exports of the year were substantially below the average.

As regards the other articles—opium and cotton yarns and goods—the cause of the decline may be attributed mainly to the closure of the mints. That measure, while it was intended to restore steadiness to the exchanges with gold-standard countries with which three-fourths of our trade are carried on, had the effect—as was anticipated—of disturbing the exchanges with silver-standard countries with which the remaining fourth of our trade is carried on. The disturbance was sudden and violent. While the rupee appreciated in sterling exchange value, silver fell heavily in gold value and the sterling exchange value of the dollar fell in the same proportion. The dollar exchange between India and China, which had all along stood at about \$100 to Rs. 230, suddenly fell to about \$100 to Rs. 192, and until prices of commodities were adjusted to the new conditions trade was practically paralysed. But this disturbance of exchanges was not the sole, though it was the most important factor in the decline of trade. The exports of yarns in 1892-93 had been so large that the China markets had been overstocked and were dull and drooping. So difficult was it to carry on trade that, early in the year, proposals were made to work short-time in the Bombay mills in order to effect a reduction of stocks and an increase in price, and these proposals were carried into effect two months before the closure of the mints.

and were in operation on the date of that event. In the case of opium the quantity offered for sale by Government during the year was smaller than usual in consequence of a reduction in the reserve caused by deficient crops for a series of seasons. But though the quantity exported was smaller, the average value per chest was about 140 rupees lower than in 1892-93, the fall of price being due to the dislocation of the dollar exchange.

The disturbance of exchange had, however, only a temporary effect on trade. By the end of November all necessary adjustments had practically been made, and trade had resumed its normal course, continuing to keep that course ever since.

Annotated Returns of the Charitable Dispensaries in Bengal for the year 1893. By Surgeon-Colonel ROBERT HARVEY, M.D., D.S.O., Officiating Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1894.

THE number of dispensaries open at the close of the year 1893, from which statistics were received for incorporation in the Provincial Returns, was 339, against 299 in the previous year. Of this increase of 40 in the number of dispensaries, 24 were new institutions opened during the year, the remainder being dispensaries of older standing, such as those maintained by the Irrigation Department and the Court of Wards, and also the Dufferin Hospitals for women, the statistics of which have now for the first time been included in the annual returns.

Two Local Fund dispensaries were sanctioned, at Samastipur and Sherghati, but not opened. Orders also were passed for bringing three more private dispensaries on the Government list, but two of these were not opened during the year, and no returns were received from the third. Besides these there are 13 dispensaries already in existence, maintained or aided by the Court of Wards and the Lady Dufferin Fund, the statistics of which have not been included in the present returns, though they will be included in future.

The total number of patients treated during the year was 1,926,528, against 1,613,771 in the previous year, showing an increase of 312,757. Excluding the number of patients (62,129) treated in those hospitals which have now for the first time been included in the Provincial Returns, the real increase was 250,628, against an increase of 117,717 in 1892 over the figures for 1891. The Lieutenant-Governor is glad to notice this steady advance in the figures of attendance, since it affords the best testimony to the good management and popularity of the charitable dispensaries in the mufassal. The daily average attendance of patients rose from 12,320 in 1892 to 15,426 in 1893. In 14 dispensaries the increase in the number of

patients was over 3,000 in each case, the most marked among them being Laheria Serai (Darbhanga) and Gopalganj (Faridpur), where the increase, respectively, was 14,506 and 7,149; on the other hand, there was a decrease of 2,000 and upwards in six cases, the largest being in Madhubani, where the number fell off by 7,849. The increase is generally attributed either to the growing popularity of the institution, or to the greater unhealthiness of the year, or to both causes; but these explanations are not always either convincing or consistent. For instance, an increase of nearly 7,000 in the Darbhanga Dispensary has been ascribed to the excessive prevalence of malarial fevers," whilst the falling off of 7,849 at Madhubani in the same district is said to be due to the "healthiness of the year." The falling off of 2,102 patients at Chanchal in the Maldah district is reported to have been occasioned by the temporary "absence of the permanent incumbent (medical subordinate in charge) on privilege leave," a reason which, in the opinion of the Lieutenant-Governor, is most insufficient.

One hundred and sixty-three dispensaries received both in-door and out-door patients, as against 148 in the previous year, the total number of in-patients treated being 40,589, against 37,845 in 1892, thus showing an increase of 2,744 persons. The total number of beds available rose from 2,357 in 1892 to 2,511, but the daily average of attendance was 1,693 only, which shows that full advantage is not yet taken of the accommodation provided for in-patients at hospitals. The attention of the managing bodies of these charitable institutions is again drawn to the remarks in the Resolution of last year, pointing out the advisability of providing suitable accommodation (1) for the relatives of patients near the dispensaries, and (2) for moribund cases and pauper patients. It is gratifying to notice that with a larger number of in-patients treated during the year, *viz.*, 40,589, against 37,845 of the previous year the number of deaths in hospitals fell off from 5,107 to 5,059, the death-rate of inmates being thus reduced from 13.49 to 12.46 per cent. The percentage of mortality was as usual largest in the hospitals along the pilgrim route to Puri, the proportion rising in one case as high as 49 per cent. of the patients treated. Evidently a large proportion of the sufferers were in a moribund condition when received into the hospital.

With the exception of a single year (1885), the number of out-door patients has gone on increasing every year during the last decade, the number having almost doubled during that period. It is satisfactory to notice that twenty-two dispensaries had an average daily attendance of 100 and upwards in 1893 as against sixteen which reached this standard in the

previous year. The largest average daily attendance (267) was at the Municipal dispensary at Chapra.

As usual, "malarial fevers" contributed the largest number of cases treated at the dispensaries, forming no less than 21·1 per cent. of the total number of cases treated both in-door and out-door, against a percentage of 19·2 in the previous year. The number of fever cases rose from 320,113 in 1892 to 408,043 during 1893, and even allowing for the figures returned from the new dispensaries it is clear that there was a very large increase in the number of fever patients, and that in the year 1893 fever was very common. Cases of bowel-complaints (dysentery and diarrhoea) rose from 71,781 to 87,243. The Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals attributes the unusual prevalence of these diseases to the prolonged and heavy rains of the year, and though the Sanitary Commissioner's vital statistics show that the fever mortality was not high, the ratio being only 20·78 per thousand as against 22·84 in 1892, it is clear that a larger proportion of fever patients came to the dispensaries for relief. The number of cases of cholera and small-pox fell off from 9,795 and 191 in 1892 to 8,077 and 91 respectively; and although it is well known that such cases are only in rare instances brought to a hospital, it may be inferred from a comparison of the figures for the two years, that these diseases were on the whole less prevalent during the year 1893 than during 1892. The statistics in the Sanitary Commissioner's Report fully corroborate this inference. The number of lepers who attended at the hospitals was 3,286, against 2,769 in 1892, the largest number being treated at the Darbhanga and Laheria Serai dispensaries, *viz.*, 209 and 138, respectively.

The total number of surgical operations, both major and minor, increased from 86,915 in 1892 to 92,476 during the year under review. The Lieutenant-Governor holds that it is on the success of these operations that the fame and popularity of charitable dispensaries largely depends. We take leave to differ from his Honor on this point. Our experiences leading us to believe that very many sick persons whose pains might be eased or eradicated by competent professional treatment are, by reports—whether well founded or false is not the question—of professional preference for recourse to the knife, rather than to physio, induced to fear hospitals and dispensaries more than they do a lingering death.

The number of operations for cataract (extraction of the lens) fell off from 2,333 in 1892 to 2,221 during 1893. The number of lithotomies performed during the year as compared with the previous year fell from 191 to 143. Surgeon-Major Whitwell (Gaya) operated in the largest number of cases, *viz.*, 21. Eight ovariectomies were performed, and in five cases death

occurred: this result is explained by the fact that only the very worst cases submit to operation.

The total number of females treated during the year, both as in-door and out-door patients, was 299,187, against 249,410, showing an increase of 49,777, or 19 per cent. Although this represents but an infinitesimal fraction of the female population of these provinces, the advance is satisfactory, and it is expected that, with the gradual increase in suitable accommodation provided by the construction of Dufferin Hospitals throughout the province, the number of female applicants for medical help will increase, though the progress is necessarily slow. The average daily attendance of female in-patients was no more than 346, although 718 beds were available for them.

The total income of the dispensaries during 1893, inclusive of the opening balance of Rs. 25,289, was Rs. 6,14,737, against Rs. 5,48,699 of the previous year, which included a larger opening balance of Rs. 35,327. The net increase in the income was Rs. 76,076, due, to a large extent, to the inclusion of the statistics of a number of dispensaries for the first time this year. The increase was contributed largely by Government (Rs. 13,457), by Local as distinguished from Municipal Funds (Rs. 25,162), and by subscription from natives of India (Rs. 35,232). The latter appear chiefly under institutions which had not been included in the returns in previous years.

The total expenditure of the year was Rs. 5,86,365 against Rs. 5,23,544, showing an increase of Rs. 62,821.

Report on the Financial Results of the Income-Tax Administration in the Lower Provinces for the year 1893-94. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1894.

THE following statement compares the financial results of the income-tax during the last two years:—

	1892-93. Persons.	1893-94. Persons.
Number of persons originally assessed, excluding Government servants ...	106,142	107,741
Number of persons finally assessed, excluding Government servants ...	103,894	105,476
Number of persons finally assessed, including Government servants ...	111,858	113,770
Number of assesses, including Government servants, who paid the tax within the year ...	108,818	110,483
	Rs.	Rs.
Final demand of income-tax for the current year ...	41,73,554	43,51,144
Final demand, including penalties, fines, and arrears of previous years ...	44,50,299	46,06,932
Collections of income-tax within the year	40,60,705	41,97,622

Total actual receipts, including advance and excess payments and after-adjustments	...	...	42,25,366	:	43,48,453
Charges	...	...	1,80,171	:	1,76,272
Percentage of charges on total actual receipts	...	...	4.3	:	4.1
Net revenue	...	...	40,45,195	:	41,72,181

The net revenue, it will be seen, shows an increase of Rs. 1,26,986, or 3 per cent., against a decrease of 1.8 per cent. in the preceding year. Including advance payments and excess collections, and making allowance for various adjustments, the actual receipts at the close of the year amounted to Rs. 43,48,453, against Rs. 42,25,366 in the previous year. The receipts on account of the current demand for 1893-94 amounted to Rs. 42,27,219, which is Rs. 1,40,792 in excess of similar receipts in the previous year.

The increase in the final demand occurred in every district, except Howrah, the 24-Parganas, Khulna, Darjeeling, Mymensingh, Cuttack, and Singhbhum, and is attributed to fresh and enhanced assessments resulting from more careful and systematic enquiries on the part of the assessing officers. In Howrah, the decrease was insignificant, and in Mymensingh it amounted to only one per cent. of the former demand. In the 24-Parganas, however, the percentage was 9.6, in Cuttack 6.8, in Singhbhum 6.2, in Darjeeling 4.6, and in Khulna 3.7. Various causes are alleged for the large decline in the 24-Parganas, but the Lieutenant-Governor is not disposed to accept the explanation without reserve. Failure of crops in Khulna, decline of trade in Cuttack, and an outbreak of rinderpest affecting the incomes of cart-owners and dairy farmers, and the removal of a number of contractors on the completion of certain large works, in Darjeeling, are assigned as the causes of the decrease in those districts. In Singhbhum it is probable, as the Board think, that the reduction is due mainly to the negligence of the assessors. The Board mention that Mr. Lyall, while inspecting the Puri Income-tax Office, found that the ground-rents liable to taxation had not been taxed, and that, as the result of this discovery, ground-rents in municipal areas have since been brought under assessment in all the districts in Orissa.

The outstanding balance at the close of the year, including penalties, &c., aggregated Rs. 2,66,987, against Rs. 2,48,747 in 1892-93. Of this balance, Rs. 60,742 are reported to be good and under realization, Rs. 1,19,464 doubtful, and Rs. 86,781 bad and irrecoverable.

The only districts which succeeded in collecting the entire demand within the year were Balasore and Puri.

Sir Charles Elliott attributes shortcomings from his ideal standard of realizations to lack of energy and promptitude in the assessment and collection of the tax. Its unpopularity he does not apparently consider a factor worth taking into account in the calculation, although he admits that the tax is greatly disliked. He notes that the large outstanding balances are attributed in Birbhum and Calcutta to the completion of the assessments towards the end of the year, and remarks, with reference to this apology, that Mr. N. K. Bose; in his report, has not explained why such delay occurred.

- The percentage of objections to assessment was, as last year, highest in Gaya (31·6) and Puri (23). The percentage of successful objections exceeded 50 in the 24 Parganas (64·8), Darjeeling (62), Purnea (61·9), Khulna (53·8), and Calcutta (52·6). These percentages, it is ruled, are not creditable to the officers against whose assessments the objections were preferred. After full allowance for the difficulty of estimating profits in the absence of accounts, it is clear that the assessments were hasty and injudicious in many cases.

Excluding the tax on interest of Government securities and the salaries of officials, the average incidence of the tax on the whole population of the province was Re. 1 to every 18·4 persons, against 19·2 in the previous year. Without Calcutta, the average was Re. 1 to every 35·7 inhabitants against Re. 1 to every 36·9 inhabitants in 1892-93. Darjeeling again shows the highest mufassal average (Re. 1 to every five persons) and Cuttack the lowest (Re. 1 to every 82 persons). In Calcutta the average incidence was Re. 1 to every 4 persons, and one person in every 39 persons was assessed to the tax, the proportion for the whole of Bengal being 1 in 674, against 1 in 684 in the previous year.

The coercive measures which had to be taken for the realization of the tax are shown in the following statement:—

YEAR.	Number of persons finally assessed.	DISTRESS WARRANTS		CASES OF DISTRAINT.		CASES OF SALE.	
		Number.	Percentage to column 2.	Number.	Percentage to column 2.	Number.	Percentage to column 2.
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
1891-92 ...	103,176	6,450	6·2	2,320	2·2	333	·3
1892-93 ...	103,894	5,559	5·4	2,460	2·4	362	·3
1893-94 ...	105,476	5,920	5·6	2,290	2·2	288	·3

In the majority of cases payment is made on the issue of the warrants, while in the remainder distraint suffices and sales are rare. Wilful recusancy, we are told, doubtless accounts for

a large proportion of the warrants. Also that the number in some districts is excessive. Sir Charles thinks that earlier completion of the assessments would obviate the issue of coercive process, which is often found necessary towards the close of the year.

The proportion of warrants issued on the number of persons assessed was above 10 per cent. in the districts of Singhbhum, Jessore, Khulna, Muzaffarpur, Noakhali, Gaya, and Jalpaiguri. The first four districts showed a high percentage in 1892-93 also. In eight districts no sales took place, while they were most numerous in Jessore, Rangpur, and Khulna. In Calcutta distress warrants were issued in 1,499 cases, but in one case only was sale found necessary.

The amount of tax collected under section 9 (2) of the Income-tax Act, which permits private employers to undertake the collection of the tax from their employes on receipt of a commission from the Government, was Rs. 2,66,584, against Rs. 2,47,918 in the previous year. The number of companies, &c., who undertook to collect the tax again fell from 324 to 307. The Board of Revenue is inclined to recommend an increase of the commission allowed, in order to offer greater inducement to companies and other employers to enter into agreements with the Government. The present rate of commission does not appear to the Lieutenant-Governor inadequate for the small trouble imposed, but he will be prepared to consider any proposals which the Board may desire to submit. The special provision of the law, he says, cannot be expected to work with advantage where the number of the employes liable to taxation is very small. With a large number of such employes the commission offered is remunerative to the employer, and also repays the Government by the amount of relief given to the collecting establishment.

The expenditure incurred in the working of the tax fell from Rs. 1,80,171 in 1892-93 to Rs. 1,76,272. In view of the increased collections and the appointment of a whole-time officer as Collector of Calcutta, the decrease is considered very satisfactory.

The system of payment by money-order continues to gain in popularity. Only one case of embezzlement of a very trifling character was discovered during the year.

Report on the Administration of the Police of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December, 1893. By J. B. THOMSON, ESQ., C.S., Inspector-General of Police, N.-W. Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1894.

THE Report on the Administration of the Police in the N.-W. Provinces and Oudh for the year 1893 does not make cheerful reading.

Riots, cases of grievous hurt, and hurt by dangerous weapons, kidnapping, dakáitis and robberies have increased, while the number of murders and culpable homicide cases remains fairly constant. The Lieutenant-Governor thinks that while the increase in the number of riots is, to some extent, due to the cow-protection, Bakr-Id and Muharrum disturbances, which unhappily characterised the year, yet the great bulk of this class of offences was purely agrarian in character. Azamgarh headed the list with 87 riot cases for disposal, in which 481 persons were convicted. According to the District Superintendent's report, 39 of these, in which 718 persons were arrested and 343 convicted, were connected with the cow-protection movement. The increase in dakáitis is attributed to the organized bands of dakáitis which infested the Taráí and Pilibhit in the early months of the year, and to the still more formidable gang which, in November and December, under Bijai Singh, terrorised the districts of Manipuri and Budaun. Both these gangs have now, however, been utterly broken up, and the prominent members for the most part convicted. The gang of Bihari and Badan Singh, of whose operations the District Superintendent of Agra gives a graphic account, may also be considered to have been suppressed, as only two members, out of eleven, were unaccounted for at the end of the year. The districts of Banda, Hamirpur, and Jhánsi, including the sub-division of Lalitpur—where, in former years, dakáiti of the professional type, has been rife—had, in 1893, a remarkably clear record. Credit for this is deservedly given to the exertions of Mr. Hankin, the Superintendent of the Thagi and Dakáiti Department in Central India, who has effectively cleared the border of a number of desperate characters. In departmental return No. I, the Rohilkhand Division still retains an undesirable pre-eminence in heinous crime. There were fewer murders in it (72 against 98 in 1892), but dakáitis increased from 54 to 68, and robberies from 96 to 164. Among individual districts, Kheri and Meerut return the most murders (26 each), Budaun the most dakáitis (17), and Bareilly the most robberies (74).

The percentage of convictions to cases investigated by the police was 49 against 41 in 1892. The apparent improvement is, however, Sir Charles Crosssthwaite considers, wholly due to the orders relieving the police from the necessity of investigating certain petty classes of crime. Thus, in 1892, the police investigated over 42,000 cases of lurking house-trespass, or house-breaking, and obtained 5,215 convictions, the resultant percentage being only 12. In 1893 they investigated under 28,000 such cases, yet they obtained 5,203 convictions, the resultant percentage being 19. The cases they were relieved

of investigating in 1893 were those of the hopeless kind, in which no property was taken, and no clue to the offender was furnished by the complainant. The higher percentage of convictions to investigations in such circumstances is no testimony to more efficient police action. Under the more serious classes of crime, in which investigation is obligatory, the results of 1893 were much the same as those of 1892. Under class I, the percentage of convictions to investigations was 76 in both years, and under class II, 74 to 72 in 1892.

The percentage of convictions to cases reported was 21·4 against 21·3 in 1892, excluding sanitary cases.

His Honour is severe on the Police in the matter of cattle thefts. He writes in his Resolution on the Police Report:—

Reports of cattle theft have fallen from 8,431 in 1892 to 5,591 in 1893. In your special report on cattle theft, which was received on the 16th July, you, however, show no less than 5,777 reports of cattle theft in 1893 in the 33 districts in which the special cattle theft rules are in force. There is a like discrepancy in the number of persons said to have been concerned in such cases. You are requested to explain the cause of these discrepancies in the two sets of returns. Both returns show a large decrease in the number of reports compared with the returns for 1892. The decrease is mainly due to a change in recording such cases by the police. Up to May 1893, in the districts in which the special rules are in force, reports of cattle 'strays' were, under standing orders, recorded as thefts, if the cattle were not recovered within 15 days. Since May 1893 these orders have been altered, and simple strays are no longer counted as thefts. Comparison between the number of reports in the years 1892 and 1893 is, therefore, futile. As regards police action in such cases, there was a distinct decrease in the number of cases in which convictions were obtained and in the number of persons convicted. The special report shows that in this branch of police work there is much room for improvement. The provisions of the special rules in force in districts in which professional cattle-lifting prevails have been allowed in many of these districts to drop out of sight by District Superintendents. There has been little co-operation between district and district: the district registers of professional cattle thieves have been perfunctorily kept up: habitual offenders were insufficiently identified, and when identified have, in few cases, been dealt with under section 75 of the Penal Code.

Note on the Administration of the Registration Department of the Punjab for the year 1893-94. Lahore: The Civil and Military Gazette Press, Contractors. to the Punjab Government. 1894.

THE number of registrations and the income of the Department in the year 1892-93 was the highest on record. In the year under review there has been a falling-off in both respects, and it is held not unlikely that the Inspector-General is right in attributing this to the harvests of 1893-94 having been better than those of the preceding year. The total number of documents registered in 1893-94 was 117,646, and the net income of the Department amounted to Rs. 1,82,877. Both these figures are higher than the corresponding figures for any year previous to 1892-93.

Notes on the Annual Returns of the Dispensaries and Charitable Institutions of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh for the year ending 31st December 1893. By Surgeon-Colonel W. P. Warburton, M.D., Officiating Inspector-General of Civil Hospitals, North-Western Provinces and Oudh. Allahabad: North-Western Provinces and Oudh Government Press. 1894.

DURING the year the number of hospitals and dispensaries rose from 315 to 328. One dispensary in the Mirzapur District was closed on account of the failure of local support. Fourteen new ones were opened, of which eight are controlled by District Boards, four are female hospitals in connection with the Dufferin Fund Association and aided by the State under the grant-in-aid rules, one an aided Mission dispensary, and one an unaided female dispensary. Notwithstanding that the year was unusually healthy, the attendance continued to increase. The number of patients treated in the hospitals existing at the beginning of the year was 3,603,286 as against 3,432,351 in 1892. In the 14 hospitals and dispensaries opened during the year, 74,549 patients received relief, the total increase on the figures of 1892 in the number of patients being thus 245,484. The Lieutenant-Governor regrets that it should ever be possible, as is stated to have been the case in Ghazipur in 1892, for returns of attendance to be fabricated to such an extent as to cast doubts upon their substantial accuracy.

In three only of the women's hospitals was the daily average in excess of the number of beds, but in no case was overcrowding serious. In nine male hospitals also the average number was in excess of the accommodation, but not seriously, except in the Colvin Hospital at Allahabad and in the Bareilly and Muttra Hospitals. The total number of beds increased from 2,161 to 2,299 for males and from 997 to 1,064 for females.

THE
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOLUME C.

April 1893.

No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.—MILTON.

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THE CALCUTTA REVIEW.

No. 200.—APRIL 1895.

ART. I.—LOURDES.

Lourdes : Par Emile Zola. Paris. 1894.

“PARADISE before you,” exclaimed Khalid Ibn Walid to his wavering followers, “the Devil and Hell in your rear !” The same cry that inaugurated the triumphs of the Crescent over the Cross has signalised the victories of the Cross over the Crescent, and nerved the Spanish and Portuguese champions to deeds of superhuman valour in the Old and New World : it has resounded through the Ages of Faith in Europe, and inspired the zeal of the inquisitor as well as the constancy of the martyr ; it has inflamed the eloquence of the preacher and stirred the conscience of the crowd ; it has been repeated by St. Dominic and by Savonarola, by Martin Luther and by Ignatius Loyola, by John Wesley and by the son of Abdul Wahab. In the tenth century it hurried the hosts of the Crusaders to Palestine, and in the latter end of the nineteenth, it conveys hundreds of thousands of pious pilgrims and fashionable devotees by railway train to the Shrine of the Holy Virgin at Lourdes.

It was at Lourdes, a little old-fashioned country-town at the foot of the French slopes of the Pyrenæan Mountains, on the 11th of February, 1858, that Bernadette Soubirons, a little peasant-girl of fourteen years of age, was sent out by her mother to gather wood for fuel, along with her sister and another little girl, a neighbour's child. Bernadette was frail and in delicate health, and lagged behind her companions. On the banks of the Gave, near a Grotto, or natural fissure in the rock, she saw a luminous appearance, which gradually resolved itself into the semblance of a human figure clad in white. At the same time her ears were filled with a sound as of rushing wind, though it was a calm day. Her companions saw, and heard nothing. When Bernadette got home, she told her father and mother, and the news of her having seen a vision was soon bruited abroad. Her parents sent her to the same place the next Sunday, armed with a bottle of holy water, lest the mysterious phantom should prove to be an evil spirit. She saw the same

figure again, more distinctly this time; saw its face smile upon her, so that it was evidently not afraid of the holy water. The next Thursday she went again, accompanied by several other persons. This time the figure reappeared, the ill-defined white phantom resolved itself into a smiling Queen, fair, rosy, blue-eyed, robed in white, with a sky-blue scarf,—in short, the exact presentment of the statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary to be seen in the Catholic Churches. She spoke clearly to Bernadette, saying: "Do me the favour to come here for the next fortnight?" Then she disappeared. The people with Bernadette saw and heard nothing, except their little companion apparently entranced, praying and staring at vacancy. To make a long story short, the Virgin appeared eighteen times in all to Bernadette Soubirons; the last apparition being on the 16th of July of the same year: after that she never reappeared. During these interviews she one day bade her go to the priests and tell them to build a Chapel to her at that spot; another time she caused a spring miraculously to gush from the rock under the child's fingers; once she held a lighted taper beneath Bernadette's hand, without burning her flesh or causing her any pain. At the last interview, joining her hands and raising her eyes to heaven, she said: "I am the Immaculate Conception!" The apparition was, therefore, acclaimed as a miraculous proof of the truth of the latest discovered dogma of the Catholic Church.

The little town of Lourdes was an old-world spot, whose simple people still believed in witches and fairies. Bernadette became their patron-saint, they flocked from all the country round to see her, begged for her intercession with the Holy Virgin, kissed the hem of the little shepherdess's petticoat. The Grotto was thronged with devotees; pious hands cleared a channel for the Miraculous Fountain, dug a tank to collect its healing waters. Miracles began to happen; a great religious revival set in; it was rumoured that the Holy Virgin had confided to her chosen 'voyante' three mysterious secrets: the wildest stories found a ready credence. The Bishop and the clergy held aloof, fearing some imposture, some scandal: the civil officials tried to calm the people, to convince them of their folly.

Bernadette was brought before the Prefect, accused of deception, threatened with imprisonment, subjected to searching cross-examination. She stuck inflexibly to every detail of her story, never forgot herself, or contradicted herself. Her beauty and her innocence captivated even her judges. The people raged against the authorities; likened the Prefect to Pilate and Herod. He drove the crowds from the Grotto, removed the flowers and the lights which they had placed there,

barricaded the approaches, stationed soldiers to guard it. The people climbed the palisades at night, evaded the sentries, to fill a bottle with the charmed water. All the day they crowded round the barricades, clamouring for admission, weeping and wailing : the sick, the halt, and the blind besieged the Prefecture, pleading to soften the hard hearts of the chiefs who would shut the gates of mercy on mankind ; women carried their sick children to the *Marie*, asking whether they must let them die in their arms, when they could be so easily cured by being taken to the Grotto : why should the authorities be so needlessly cruel as to withhold from the poor the consolation sent to them by Heaven ?

" During several months, the struggle went on, the extraordinary spectacle of common sense, the Minister, the Prefect, the Commissioner of Police, all animated by the best intentions, striving against the desperate and constantly increasing crowd, furious at not being allowed to inhabit its Fool's Paradise. The authorities stood out for order, sobriety, and reason ; while an innate craving for happiness excited in the crowd a frenzied longing for salvation, in this world and the world to come. Oh ! to endure no more pain or suffering, to enjoy universal happiness, to be guided always by that sweet and loving Mother, to die only to awake in eternal bliss ! And it was the fevered desire of the multitude, the inspired craze for everlasting joy, that was to sweep away the cold and formal obstruction of an established state of society, which frowned on the epidemic convulsions of religious hallucination, and condemned them as subversive of common sense and natural morality."

It was the priests who were first won over to the cause of the enthusiasts. Some were themselves won by the spirit of the movement : the Abbé Peyramol, the curé of Lourdes, who was at first an opponent of Bernadette's, ended by being one of her warmest supporters. Many of the clergy gave in their adhesion from motives of policy, seeing in the enthusiasm of the crowd of believers, a weapon for advancing the cause of Religion and of the Church. The good Bishop of Tarbes long held out : but why should he make his beloved flock unhappy, when he could so easily please them by going with the stream. The poor people were so miserable, they had such a devouring hunger for marvels, for fairy-tales, to divert their minds from the sad realities of human life. And the good Bishop with tears offered up the Truth as a sacrifice to Love, the love of the Shepherd for his suffering flock of human souls.

The adhesion of the clergy to the legend of Lourdes brought over the *devote* Empress Eugenie ; and she in turn brought over the easy-going Emperor. The rational Prefect was removed ; the interdict was taken off ; the barriers were thrown down. Then, there was the Hosanna, the triumph of God had conquered ! God ? Alas, no ! but human suffering, eternal craving for illusion, the hope of the doomed man who trusts for salvation to an invisible Power, greater and stronger than Nature, alone able to break her inexorable laws. Or, rather,

we should say, that the real conqueror was the sovereign pity of the two good shepherds of the flock, the Emperor and the Bishop, mercifully leaving to their grown-up children the *ferish* which was to them for all their ills a sufficing consolation, sometimes even a cure.

An Episcopal Commission was nominated to examine again into the truth of Bernadette's story, and this time, Faith was triumphant, scepticism was quelled, the people were satisfied. All the ground in the neighbourhood of the sacred Grotto was acquired by the Church, paid for out of ecclesiastical funds: a splendid white marble statue of the Virgin was installed in it, and hundreds of wax-tapers blazed before it night and day. On the summit of the rock in which the Grotto was hewn, a magnificent Basilica lifted its heaven-directed spire. Other Churches and Chapels were reared in the vicinity by the exertions of the pious. The rugged banks of the Gave were terraced and planted: the water of the Miraculous Fountain was conducted into pools surrounded by kiosques for the convenience of the bathers in this new Pool of Siloam. On the barren slope between the Grotto on the banks of the Gave and the old town of Lourdes, a new Lourdes sprang up, peopled by pilgrims and curious visitors: a town of monster hotels, banks, shops, and villas. Wealth flowed into the place, and filled the coffers of the Church and the pockets of the people. Hundreds of thousands of pilgrims hastened there from all parts of the Catholic world. And, especially after the Franco-German War of 1870, a great Annual National Pilgrimage was organised in France by the Augustine Fathers of the Assumption, with a view to regaining the Divine favour for their beloved country, abandoned by Providence as a punishment for the sins of her sons, who had substituted liberty of conscience for the authority of the Church and preferred the dictates of Reason to the teachings of Revelation. Just as the Jews believed that their subjugation by the idolatrous Chaldeans was a judgment on them for their own lapse into idolatry, so these pious French priests thought the overthrow of France by Protestant Prussia was a punishment for French neglect of Catholicism. Their energy and good-will were stronger than their logic, and they founded the Association of our Lady of Salvation, charged with the task of assuring the safety of France and the welfare of the Church by the practice of prayer and the exercise of charity: and it is this organization which first created, and which for the past twenty years continually laboured to extend and enlarge, the great Annual National Pilgrimage to Lourdes, undertaken every year in the latter end of the month of August. A vast movement has thus been developed, of which the complex and carefully-

studied organization has been gradually brought to a high degree of perfection, even in the minutest details; enormous sums collected as alms all through the Catholic world, invalids and cripples recruited from every parish, engagements and arrangements made with the railway companies. The *Hospitalité de Notre Dame de Sa'ut* is a vast Religious Ambulance Association, whose members, both male and female, for the most part of gentle blood and good fortune, place themselves under the orders of the Director of the Pilgrimage while it lasts, occupy themselves in tending and in transporting the sick, and in keeping good order and discipline among the crowds of pilgrims. Sick persons have to make written application, supported by medical certificates, to obtain "hospitalisation," which enrolls them as patients of the Association, and defrays all the expenses of the journey from and to their own homes, and of their three days' sojourn at Lourdes: they have only to find their own provisions on the journey. Most of these patients are recommended by their parish clergy, or by the patrons and members of the Association. After they have had the card-board certificate of their "hospitalisation" suspended round their necks, with their name, general number, &c., entered on it, they need trouble themselves about nothing more, they become simply the '*chair a miracle*' in the kindly hands of the Hospitallers and Lady Hospitallers, the latter aided by the trained devotion and the ripe experience of the *Petites Sœurs de l'Assomption*, who supply the need of a regular element in this vast Volunteer Army of Charity.

It is this annual national pilgrimage which is the theme of M. Zola's latest work, this strange anachronism of a revival of the religious modes of the tenth century in the latter end of the nineteenth, this desperate attempt of the priests of a failing faith to put back the hands of the clock of time to where they stood six hundred years ago. This story of "Lourdes" is a wonderful diagnosis of superstition by a past master in the art of mental analysis; a faithful picture of the eternal conflict for the mastery of the human mind waged between the Flesh and the Spirit, the Reason and the Imagination. M. Zola narrates the scenes of the annual pilgrimage with the fidelity of an eye-witness, and his description is adorned by the genius of an artist: his book is divided into five parts, each relating the events of a day: the three days spent at Lourdes and the two days of the journey thither and return. Each part is further divided into five chapters: so that the novel is like to a drama of five Acts, of five scenes each. The opening scene is laid in a third-class carriage of the "White Train," the train which carries the worst and most incurable cases, the most wretched spectacle of all the trains

which carry their load of misery from one end of France to the other, to deposit it at the feet of the miracle-working statue of the Virgin at Lourdes.

Among the passengers in this third-class carriage are the hero and heroine of the drama, the Abbé Pierre Froment and Mademoiselle Marie Guersaint. Boy and girl lovers, they had been brought up in the close vicinity of adjoining houses in the suburban neighbourhood of Neuilly. Pierre Froment was the son of a *Voltaire* father and a *devote* mother. The former, a scientific man and a chemical analyst, made a study of the science of explosives, and was killed in his laboratory, by an accidental explosion, while Pierre was yet a child. His mother, devotedly attached to her husband, was overwhelmed by grief at his sudden death, and sorrowed still more for his inevitable damnation. Her eldest son, Guillaume, was already at Collège and already infected by the Rationalist heresy of his father : but she determined that her younger child should be saved from such influences, and should be brought up as a priest to pray for the deliverance of his father's soul. And, while Guillaume left the family home and set up for himself in his father's line, Pierre remained the joy and comfort of his mother, and, after taking orders, obtained a curacy in the neighbourhood, and continued to live in the paternal mansion. The death of his mother left him alone in the world, and his grief and the fatigue and anxiety of nursing her in her last fatal illness threw him into a fever, from which he owed his recovery chiefly to the sedulous care and attention of Doctor Chassaigne, the family physician, and ancient and faithful friend of his father's. The intimacy of Chassaigne, himself an unbeliever, the books in his father's library, the awakening of his intellect, which had been lulled to sleep rather than excited by his course of studies at the clerical seminary, all combine to destroy Pierre's simple trust in the faith in which he had been brought up. When his little sweetheart, Marie, had been crippled by the accident which absolutely prevented her from ever becoming a wife and a mother, he had conquered his former scruples about entering the priesthood ; since there was no longer any woman in the world for him, he had sacrificed his manhood ; but he now found it absolutely impossible to sacrifice his intellect. The genius of his dead father dominated his mind, where, in a dual heredity, it had hitherto been overshadowed by the spirit of his mother. He was a priest, and he *could not* believe ! In this catastrophe of his life he long and earnestly debated within himself the course that he should pursue : and he finally decided to keep his secret, to perform his duties, and to devote his life to the service of his fellow men. His zeal and intelligence attracted the attention of his superiors ; but he refused

all advancement, not considering himself justified in accepting it, under the circumstances.

After his mother's death, he had renewed his intimacy with the Guersaints, their former neighbours, who had come down in the world, and moved into lodgings elsewhere. His little golden-haired playmate, Marie, had, when only fourteen years old, been thrown from a horse, and had received an internal injury, which deprived her of the use of her limbs; and the slender fortune of the family had been vainly spent on physicians, and in taking her from one health resort to another. Her managing, bustling mother had died; and, under the ill-management of her father, a kind of French Micawber, an architect full of ideas which he was too flighty ever to carry out, things went from bad to worse. Marie's eldest sister, Blanche, kept the house together by the money she earned as a daily governess, trotting along the streets of Paris, from one engagement to another, from morning to night. And now Marie and Pierre renewed their old boy and girl intimacy as grown-up brother and sister; and her loving heart soon surprised the secret which burdened his spirit. She wishes to make the pilgrimage to Lourdes, in the firm conviction that the Virgin will cure her, and she is bent on Pierre accompanying her, that his mental and mortal disease of unbelief may be cured, too. And the physicians, seeing that her mind is set on going, agree that she may possibly benefit by it: one clever young doctor, a cousin of Pierre's, goes so far as to say that if the girl determines to be cured there, she will be cured assuredly; for that Nature has already cured her body of the ill-effects of the accident, and all that remains is an affection of the nerves, which may be removed by nervous excitement.

Pierre is at first loth to go, but Marie persuades him; and, in order to obtain for her the benefit of "hospitalisation," he enrolls himself as a member of the "Hospitalité de Notre Dame de Salut," and he and M. Guersaint escort Marie to Lourdes in the "White Train," she laid in the narrow litter in which she had lived for the past eight years, and to which two pairs of wheels could be fitted to enable her to be moved from place to place, and to take the air out of doors. And when the first scene of the First Act opens, her living coffin occupies three places on the seat of a compartment of a third-class carriage of the "White Train," as it rolls out of Paris at dawn on the 19th August. Marie, with her abundant golden hair, like a Saint's aureole surrounding her fair face, simply clad in a black stuff dress, lies in her narrow bed; opposite to her sits Pierre, with the yellow leather braces and red cross edged with orange of a "brancardier" (stretcher-bearer); and M. Guersaint, with the plain red cross of an ordinary pilgrim at the button-hole of his

grey travelling suit. A placard, affixed to the door of one of the compartments, bears the name of Madame de la Jonquiere, the " Dame Hospitaliere " in charge of the carriage, a stout, motherly, good-natured widow lady, left poorly off by the death of her husband, who gratifies her love of authority and her passion for managing, and at the same time satisfies a sincere and practical charity, by this annual expedition to Lourdes ; and she has, as her trusty Lieutenants on this occasion, two *Petites Sœurs de l'Assomption*, in their black robes relieved by their white coifs and guimpes, and large white aprons : Sœur Hyacinthe, fresh and fair, blue-eyed and rosy, always smiling, always bustling, overflowing with zeal, health, gaiety and innocence ; she has a kind look and a merry word for everyone, leads the devotions of the whole carriage-full according to the programme of the orders for the day, claps her hands to call " her children " to attention, then tells her rosary, recites the prayer, gives out the hymn ; Sœur Claire des Anges, little and gentle, shy, soft-eyed, and retiring, never heard to speak except when spoken to, scarcely seen, but always on the spot when anything is wanted. And the carriage looked a veritable hospital ward, an improvised ambulance, basins and brooms and sponges, lint and bandages mixed up with the bags and bundles of the pilgrims.

And the other occupants of the carriage are described. In the Guersaints' and Pierre's compartment are two women, Madame Maze, the *bourgeoise*, bound for Lourdes to supplicate the Virgin to restore to her the vanished affection of her husband, a commercial traveller and *vivurier* " qui la trompait d'une frontière à l'autre de la France ; " Madame Vincent, the poor *ouvrière*, a widow who maintained herself by her needle, carrying in her arms her little daughter, Rose, in the last stage of consumption, visibly wasting away before the eyes of her distracted mother, whose whole soul is wrapped up in her dying child. In the next compartment with Madame de la Jonquiere and Sœur Hyacinthe are three women, La Grivotte, a mattrass-maker, of about thirty, a tall, gaunt, young woman, with a haggard face, wild hair, unnaturally bright eyes, strangling in paroxysms of coughing, spitting blood, one lung quite, the other all but, gone ; Madame Vetu, the wife of a poor watchmaker in the suburbs of Paris, who could not afford to shut up his shop to accompany her to Lourdes, suffering from cancer in the stomach, and poisoning the air with her pestilential breath ; Elise Rouquet, late a domestic servant, who kept her face covered with a black veil to hide the hideous spectacle, her nose and one side of her mouth half-devoured by a " lupus," an open and suppurating sore.

In the compartment on the other side were M. Sabathier, formerly a College Professor, a stout, heavy man, whose huge legs, paralysed by locomotor ataxy, were inept and weighty as lumps of lead, and his fat wife, who accompanied him, had to laboriously lift them for him, when he wanted to change his position. Round his neck was suspended the white hospital card with his name and "*numero d'ordre*;" for, though he had on six previous occasions visited Lourdes at his own expense, and in vain, Hope sprang eternal in his breast, and this seventh time he had disguised himself as a poor man, and got "hospitalised," in the idea that the Virgin might be the more readily touched by this exhibition of humility. Only, for fear his conduct might be attributed to an unworthy motive, he had paid the whole expenses of another pilgrim, a poor man suffering from tuberculosis, into the chest of the *Hospitalité de Notre Dame de Salut*. Stretched on a mattress on the opposite bench, was Frere Isidore, a young missionary sent home from Senegal with inflammation of the liver, the cadet of a poor and pious Breton family, whose homely peasant face seemed at times sublime in its expression of suffering and faith. And, as he was totally unable to wait upon himself, he was accompanied by his younger sister, Martha, a dull and lumpish peasant-girl, who had quitted her poor situation as maid of all work to nurse her brother on what proved to be his last journey.

In the same compartment was an unknown man, who had no hospital card to distinguish him, and who, soon after the train starts, is discovered to be in a fit; and Madame de la Jonquiere and Sœur Hyacinthe are greatly perturbed lest he should die on their hands before the train reaches its next halting-place, at Poitiers, without receiving the last rites of the Church, the oil for administering the Extreme Unction being in another carriage with Père Massias, the priest in spiritual charge of the train.

And the fourth compartment is filled with peasant women and girls, poor and miserably clad, with the stupidly resigned look of driven cattle, joining in the hymns with commendable fervour, but with lamentable deficiency of time and tune.

The second scene opens at the railway station at Poitiers, where the train stops half an hour for breakfast. Sister Hyacinthe tends the dying man, while Sister Claire des Anges hurries to look for Père Massias. And the physician in charge of the train is fetched, young Dr. Ferrand, who, when a medical student, had been nursed through a dangerous attack of fever by Sister Hyacinthe, and who cherishes ever since a devoted attachment to her, which she returns by a sisterly affection. The honest, young fellow's gratitude is perilously akin to love, but the sister's sacred vocation interposes an

insurmountable obstacle to earthly affections, and he is perforce content to remain her trusted and brotherly comrade, exchanging fraternal confidences with her as they help each other with their invalids. The story of their pure affection is a pretty idyll amid the ghastly scenes of suffering around them. But M. Ferrand can here do nothing to help; the sufferer is past all human aid. A crowd gathers round the carriage, attracted by the rumour that a man is dying in it. And we are introduced to other actors, passengers from the first and second class carriages of the train, who mingle in the curious crowd: Monsieur Vigneron, a *sous-chef* of the Ministry of Finance, and his wife, who are taking their scrofulous son, Gustave, to be cured at Lourdes, secretly tormented by the fear that he may die before his wealthy aunt, Madame Chaise, whose fortune would thus pass to another branch of the family; Madame Chaise herself, suffering from an affection of the heart; Monsieur Dieulafay, the banker, rich as Croesus, but unable to buy the life of his poor wife, stricken with a mortal disease, whom he is carrying as a forlorn hope to Lourdes, a wretched spectacle in her useless luxury "une véritable loque humaine." Accompanying them are Madame Dieulafay's sister, Madame Jousseur, well-known as a leader of the fashionable world in Paris, and the Abbé Judaine, priest of the country parish round the Dieulafays' chateau, who had himself been cured of an affection of the eyes at Lourdes, and had now persuaded his parishioners to undertake the pilgrimage; but the good single soul is much troubled by the wealth and ostentation of his patrons, knowing how Heaven prefers poverty and humility: and even the rich gifts which the banker is bearing to the shrine excite his secret disapprobation. Then the fair Raymonde de la Jonquière comes to the carriage to summon her mother to *dejeuner* at the *buffet*: she has been travelling first-class with two other Dames Hospitalières, Madame Desagneaux, a pretty, fussy *blonde*, knowing nothing, and anxious to do everything, always in everybody's way, and giving more trouble than any of the patients; and Madame de Volmar, a quiet, taciturn woman, with large, lustrous eyes, who comes on the Annual Pilgrimage to deceive her husband, and to meet her lover, waiting for her at Lourdes.

The Père Massias had disappeared in the crowd at the station; he had met with some friends among the local clergy; he could not be found till just before the train was starting, and the *Extrême Unction* is administered to the dying man with indecent haste, to the accompaniment of the imprecations of the impatient Station-master. At the last moment, a new arrival is shoved into the vacant seat in the compartment of Pierre and Marie, little Sophie Conteau, daughter of a peasant

of the neighbourhood, a "Miraculée," cured the year before of a disease in her foot, a kind of ankylosis. She is acclaimed by Madame de la Jonquiere and Sister Hyacinthe as an old acquaintance, has to recite the story of her miraculous cure, take off her stocking, and show her little white foot, with the cicatrice of the old sore plainly visible on her heel. Everyone is impressed and delighted. Sophie has to repeat her story again and again. But Sister Hyacinthe says that is nothing; she can tell them of much greater miracles than that; and others follow suit, each one with a more wonderful fairy-tale than the last: of the blind who saw; the lame who walked; the deaf who heard; the dumb who talked; the Cuirassier Officer at Reichshofen whose life was saved by an image of our Lady of Lourdes in which the German bullet found its billet, instead of in his heart (in a Protestant country it would have been in the Bible given to him by his mother as a parting gift); and so on, and so on, *ad infinitum*. The stream of miracles flows as fast as the tongues can wag: Marie and La Grivotte sit up to listen, rapt in ecstatic expectation; M. Guersaint, with wide-open eyes and mouth, swallows the marvellous stories with childish credulity; old M. Sabathier beams with beatific simplicity: the whole carriage-full of passengers is wildly excited, deeply moved, transported by hope and faith out of their miserable selves.

"And Pierre, as by a sudden inspiration, understood everything, saw clearly the explanation of these revived pilgrimages, these multitudes hurrying, in crowded railway-trains rolling from all parts of Christendom, towards their goal at Lourdes, the shine flaming before them, with the hope of salvation for their bodies and their souls. Ah! the poor creatures whom he saw there groaning with pain, dragging their wretched carcasses along through the stifling heat and crushing fatigue of their long and tedious journey; all of them doomed, abandoned by science, wearied of vain recourse to physicians, of the useless torture of fruitless remedies. And how clearly now he comprehended their condition, their burning desire of life, their revolt against the injustice and indifference of Nature, their dream of a Power—supernatural, almighty—which might perchance save them, arrest the operation of unchangeable laws, suspend the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, reverse the order of its own creation. If the earth failed them, was not God at hand? To them the Reality was too abominable, their souls became possessed by an inextinguishable craving for illusion, an immense appetite for lies. Oh! only to believe that there is somewhere or other a supreme Justice which will redress the wrongs of Nature; to think that there is a Redeemer, a Consoler, who is the Master of all, who can cause mountains to remove, rivers to return to their founts, who can make the old young and the dead alive! And then, when one is writhing in pain, with twisted limbs, swollen with tumours, with lungs decayed only to be able to say that all that is really nothing; that everything can be cured; everyone can be made whole at a simple sign from the Holy Virgin; that it suffices to pray to Her, touch the hem of Her robe, to obtain from Her the favour of being chosen. What a celestial

river of hope flowed out of this endless stream of recounted miracles, those beautiful fairy tales which intoxicated the fevered imagination of these poor, cripples and invalids ! Since little Sophie Conteau had entered the carriage, had shown her little white foot healed, the limitless expanse of the Divine and the Supernatural had opened before their eyes, the breath of the Resurrection had passed over them, raising the poor wretches from their couch of despair, illumining their glazing eyes with the faith that life was, still theirs, with the Hope that they might live anew.

" Yes, this was the secret ; this was why this misery-laden train rolled on, rolled on : this was why this compartment, this carriage, the other carriages, all were full : this was why other pilgrim-trains were rolling on, through France, through Christendom, carrying three hundred thousand believers, among them thousands of invalids, from one year's end to another's : because there, far-away, the Grotto flamed in its glory like a Pharos of Hope and Illusion, the protest and the triumph of the Incredible and the Impossible over the inexorable laws of Nature and of Matter. Never had a more impassioned romance been invented to satisfy the yearnings of the soul, to raise it above the narrow limits of existence. To dream this dream was enough ; here was the ineffable Happiness ! The good Fathers of the Assumption had seen the success of their newly-organized pilgrimages increase year by year, only because they satisfied the wants of the people flocking to them, stuffing them with consolatory lies, with that fallacious but delicious bread of life for which suffering humanity hungers with a craving,—insatiable, unappeasable. And it was not physical ills alone that clamoured for a cure ; moral and intellectual humanity joined in the prolonged lamentation, in its inextinguishable longing for happiness beyond its reach. The cherished desire of every pious human soul was to be happy, to put the certainty of this life into the faith in another, to lean upon the supporting staff of such a faith through life and unto death, to rest its spiritual burdens upon it, praying for grace, for the conversion of its beloved ones, for the salvation of itself and of all dear to it. And the immense clamour of supplication rose, swelled—filled the earth and the sky ; to be happy for ever and ever, in life and in death ! "

But the crushing fatigue of the journey in the suffocating heat of an August night in the south of France at last lulls to rest the stories of miracles, the accounts of passages from the life of Bernadette, the *voyante*, the *hallucinée* ; and the wearied travellers snatch a broken rest. Suddenly Sister Hyacinthe calls for help ; the unknown man is seized with a spasm ; and he dies in her arms, half an hour before the train reaches Lourdes, where the first scene of the Second Act shows us the railway station feebly lighted by the flaring gas jets, at half past three in the morning, while the pale dawn just touches the tops of the mountain. And on the stage of its platform we are introduced to new characters : Père Fournade, the Director-General of the National Pilgrimage, a fine, old, grey-bearded priest, with the air of a General, directing a successful campaign, but dragging a gouty leg after him, and so obliged to lean for support on the shoulder of Doctor

Bonamy, the physician attached to the Bureau de la Constata-tion des Miracles, a round, comfortable, cleanly-shaven little man, who drew a good salary from the funds charitably provided by the alms of the pious ; le Baron Suire, President of the Hospitalité, a magnate of Toulouse, with his fat, good-humoured face, lit up with the blue eyes of a credulous child ; M. Berthaud, the chief of the Ambulance Service, of a Legitimist family and of fighting caste, who threw himself heart and soul into the work of the Pilgrimage with the idea of spiting the Republic, with a vague notion that the Blessed Virgin might some day bring off the miracle of the restoration of the Monarchy ; his nephew, Gerard de Peyrelongue, a volunteer litter-bearer, short, thin, red-haired, and ambitious, who every year served in the Pilgrimage in the hope of picking up an heiress among the many noble and *devote* young ladies who repair to Lourdes, and who this year ends by becoming affianced to the penniless Raymonde de la Jonquiere ; " Le commandeur," the old army officer *en retraite*, who has a small berth in the railway administration at Lourdes, who looks forward with agreeable anticipations to Death as an everlasting rest, an eternal sleep, and who despises the wretches who are so enamoured of their suffering lot that they seek to prolong their miserable days ; Le Père Dargelés, the chief editor of the *Journal de la Grotte*, the organ of the miraculous, the Catholic *War-Cry*, lean and keen, with pointed nose and twinkling eyes, like a ferret on the track of the supernatural ; the Abbé Des Hermoises, the dandy priest, a favourite of the ladies, who contrived to combine the advantages of both the Church and the world, and who came to Lourdes as to a fashionable resort, masking his little vices under the guise of his polished and decorous behaviour.

And the de-trainment of the pilgrims and of the invalids, the "brouhaha extraordinaire" of the crowds thronging the station, of the vehicles and the ambulances in the court-yard, the hurrying to and fro of the excited station-master and railway officials, who might claim to perform an annual miracle in running so many extra trains at the time of the Pilgrimage without any accident or delay, are described in Zola's inimitable style, in pages crowded with various characters and many incidents like the canvas of one of Frith's great pictures. And the invalids are by degrees carted and carried away to different hospitals, or to hotels and private lodgings, most of the female dramatis personæ of the story going to the ward superintended by Madame de la Jonquiere, the Salle Ste Honorine, in the hospital of Notre Dame des Douleurs, a vast, unfinished building of four stages, where

five or six hundred sick and infirm persons were crowded into a space which would have barely sufficed for half of them. And by some mistake all the worst cases had been told off to the top storeys, so that there was endless delay and confusion in installing them in the hospital, where they had but a brief rest before starting at 8 A.M. for the morning visit to the shrine of the Grotto, leaving the Volunteer "Dames Hospitalieres and their professional *aides* to introduce some order and method into the confusion of the suddenly improvised sick camp in which they find themselves. Mattresses have to be spread upon the floor, to supplement the fifteen hospital cots already in the ward, to accommodate the overflow. Madame Desagneaux is there to assist; but Madame Volmar has already disappeared, reporting herself sick, knocked up by her journey. Raymonde is told off to serve in the kitchen, to save her the unpleasant sights of a Hospital-ward, but the two sisters remain in attendance, while M. Ferrand establishes himself and his surgery in a neighbouring linen cupboard, rather annoyed at finding himself and his art so totally ignored among people who put their trust in faith instead of in science, feeling like a civilized man among a tribe of savages, like a rational being in a lunatic asylum, but resigned to his fate by the privilege of being able to give a helping hand to his beloved Sister Hyacinthe.

M. Zola follows the fortunes of all these individual characters whom we have briefly indicated through the events of the three days' observances of the Pilgrimage. They all meet amid the gay and verdant pleasure-grounds and shrubberies on the terraced banks of the Gave, where the long rows of oaken benches are ranged as in a Church, in the open space before the grating which defends the entrance to the Miraculous Grotto through which the white figure of the Virgin's statue shines, as in a burning fiery furnace, in the blaze of a thousand wax-lights. And they meet at the fountains, in the baths, where the sick and halt are undressed by charitable volunteers and plunged into the icy cold water; and as the flow of the stream is insufficient to allow the water to be changed in the baths more than twice a day, and nearly a hundred persons, suffering from all kinds of diseases, have to use the same water, "on s' imagine quel terrible bouillon cela finissait par être." Above the murmurs of the crowds rises continuously the monotonous and mechanically repeated cry "Seigneur, guérissez nos malades! Seigneur, guérissez nos malades!"

The corpse of the man who died in the train is brought to the fountain, and plunged into the bath by the fanatical priests, who exhaust their lungs and paralyse their tongues by the vehemence of their supplications to the Almighty to

confound the impious sarcasms of the scoffers by this crowning miracle. But their entreaties produce no more effect on the *insouciant* Deity to whom they appeal than did the clamour of the Priests of Baal :

" And ever the wasted breath
Of the praying multitude rises, whose answer is only Death."

They have to take the corpse out of the water, still a corpse. But Père Fourcale soon recovers his serenity. "My dear brothers, my dear sisters," he proclaims, "God did not see fit to restore him to us. In His infinite goodness, He has rather chosen to keep him among His saints. Thus, whatever result happens, the believer has no difficulty in always putting himself in the right, in demonstrating the infallibility of his assumptions. Nothing is impossible, and nothing illogical, to Faith, which reaches the most opposite conclusions from the same set of premisses.

The Abbé Pierre turns with repulsion from these exhibitions of superstitious excitement. Leaving Marie praying before the Grotto, he wanders away to meditate alone among the gay parterres and the umbrageous avenues which shade the terraced banks of the river. And on the *promenade* here he comes by chance on his old friend, Doctor de Chassigne, who had left Paris, some years before, to carry his invalid wife to the health resorts of the south of France. They greet each other with effusion, and the old Doctor tells his sorrowful story : His wife dead and his only and well-beloved daughter gone to her mother, cut off in her bloom. And Pierre, surprised by some of the expressions let fall by the old man, interrogates him, and finds that he has since become a believer. The loss of his beloved wife and daughter, for whom alone he lived, had so preyed on his mind that he could only find happiness in looking forward to re-union with them in eternal life. The religion of his childhood, when he knelt at a good mother's knee, in this his second childhood, came back to him. Sentiment conquered intellect, and he became again as a little child. What could science do for him ? Could it give him back his beloved ones ? Religion promised to restore them, and he was content to believe, and happy in his belief.

Doctor Chassigne takes Pierre with him to the office of Doctor Bonamy, the *Constatation des Miracles*, where a regular record of all the cases is kept and a report made of the miraculous cures. Clerks sitting at the office-tables, turn over the leaves of registers, docket medical certificates, &c. Père Dargelés sits at a table making notes, inditing "pars" for his *Journal*. Half-a-dozen priests and about twice as many doctors of the body were present, some

for the purpose of enquiry, some out of pure curiosity. And the patients claiming to be miraculously cured, came up from the Grotto, from the baths, in a pretty constant stream. They handed in their Hospital cards; the clerks hunted up their cases, Doctor Bonamy interrogated them, called other doctors to examine them, gave his opinion that they were decidedly better, that there was an improvement, a commencement, &c. He was anxious to gain over a Paris journalist who was present, a rising man in his profession, and who on his part said that he could not understand how there could be any doubt in the matter: if the miracles were there, people would believe in them, and if they weren't, they wouldn't. The Catholics among the medical men present avowed their belief in the miraculous cures; the sceptics, who were in a minority, shook their heads and said nothing. Sometimes an impostor turned up, an old malingerer, who "got up" a deccase so cleverly as to impose even on the doctors. These simulators traded on charity, pretended to be miraculously cured, and found their account in abundant alms from the credulous faithful.

The consumptive invalid, whose expenses were paid by M. Sabathier, turned out to be one of these gentry, and got a hundred *francs* out of his patron on the strength of his sudden and miraculous cure; the good man taking it as an omen of his own good fortune: but the rascal was recognised at the Bureau des Constataions as an old offender and as having been miraculously cured of a different ailment at least once before. These cases are kept as quiet as possible, hushed up by the priests, to avoid giving occasion for scandal to a sceptical world. But successful impostures of this kind are rare, in spite of the jesting stories told about Lourdes by the scoffer and the unbeliever. There is no need of imposture to produce miracles; faith suffices, and there are, besides, ignorance and stupidity to fall back upon.

La Grivotte suddenly bounds into the office crying out "*Je suis guérie; mes bons Messieurs, je suis guérie!*" and there is great triumph and excitement when the records of her case are produced, attested by three medical certificates. Pierre looked at her, almost dancing in her feverish joy, with flushed cheeks and sparkling eyes. Was this the girl he had seen the night before, lying prone on the seat of the railway carriage, ghastly in her pallor, shaking with her racking cough, spitting blood? She had been plunged into the cold water of the bath, and in three minutes had felt herself restored, a new woman. There was no doubt of it. "*Je suis guérie!*"

"And Pierre began then to understand Lourdes, to appreciate the marvels which had now been wrought here for years, amid the fervent devotion of one half of the world, and the decisive laughter of the

other. Evidently forces were at work here little appreciated, perhaps actually undiscovered. Auto-suggestion, the keen and long expectation, the excitement of the journey, the prayers and hymns creating and increasing the exaltation of enthusiasm; above all, the healing virtue, the unknown influence which sympathetically emanates from the multitude in the acute crisis of its Faith. Little need there seemed for the theory of trickery and imposture. The facts were more natural and more simple. The Priests of the Grotto needed not to soil their conscience with falsehood, it sufficed their purpose to skillfully aggravate the enthusiasm, to avail themselves of the universal credulity. It was even possible to imagine that all might be equally sincere, the inept physicians who signed the medical certificates, the rejoicing patients who believed themselves cured, the persistent witnesses who swore to having seen the miracles with their own eyes. And the net result was the clear impossibility of ever satisfactorily proving whether there had been a miracle, or had not. Did it not follow that the assumed miracle was an actual reality to those who believed in it, to those who were tormented by Despair and solaced by Hope?"

Doctor Bonamy informed the Abbé Pierre, curious on the statistics of miracles, that the proportion of the cures to the cases was ten per cent. There were, he said, many more alleged cures, which, however, were not corroborated by him officially. In fact, his Bureau acted as a kind of Police of the Miraculous, attested only established cases, to prevent sacred subjects from being laid open to ridicule. But Pierre came away with the impression that the Bureau, with its office of attesting miracles, was a mistake. In the real Ages of Faith, science was interdicted from meddling with the supernatural. What was the use of dabbling with scientific inquiry at all? Either one did believe, or one did not. There was no possible compromise. But from the moment that the intervention of science was admitted, it was no longer possible to stifle enquiry, the fatal and inevitable result was doubt.

And he returns to re-convey Marie from *la Grotte* to the Hospital, and to return himself to the *Hôtel des Apparitions*, where he shares a room with M. de Geursaint, and meets the Vignerons and others of their fellow-travellers at the overcrowded *table d'hôte*.

And we are taken with some of them under the escort of Gerard de Peyrelongue, to visit the "popote," or mess of the "brancardiers," the Volunteer Hospital Corps, where the three hundred young men of the Association, gentle and simple, rich and poor, share their meals at three *Francs* a day with soldierly *cameraderie*, in true fraternity and equality. The young Marquis de Salmon Roquebert, one of the noblest and richest scions of the old nobility of France, is seated between the two sons of a petty stationer of Tarbes, enjoying his mutton *ragout*, after having assisted to bathe sixty patients in the morning, and appears to be enjoying himself immensely. The scene is

a realisation of the dream of evangelical socialism, a resuscitation of the Church communities of the early Christians: but we must remember that all are aware that their brotherhood holds good only for three days of the Pilgrimage.

And from the Association Mess, we go to the shop or store of the Water of the Holy Fountain, where the health-giving stream is bottled, labelled, sealed, packed in boxes, and despatched to all parts of the Catholic world, in much the same fashion as the mineral waters in a vulgar mundane soda water manufactory.

And the wax-candle stores must be also visited, vast cellars, where are deposited, classified according to their sizes and calibres, the wax-tapers brought by the faithful as an offering to the Lady of Lourdes. Two hundred assorted candles of all sizes were always burning at the Shrine; and the rule was that every taper must eventually be burnt before the Virgin; but the supply so far exceeded the possible expenditure that the cellars were stuffed to overflowing, and the surplus continued to increase: so that it was commonly rumoured that the Priests sold them from time to time for wax; and some went so far as to assert that the profit on wax-candles alone would pay for all the expenses of the Grotto. And, besides the holy water and the wax-tapers, the Fathers of the Immaculate Conception sell all manner of articles of religious *bijouterie*: rosaries, crucifixes. The shop-keepers openly grumble at their rivalry; and the hotel-keepers complain that the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception, the Blue Nuns as they are commonly called, keep a boarding-house under the pretence of affording a retreat to devout ladies, entice away their best customers, make money under the cloak of piety. Everywhere are heard the smothered murmurs of the laity, enraged at seeing the stream of gold flowing into the coffers of the Church, the all-devouring Church, only eager on the first opportunity offered to profit again by the abuses, which, in the Middle Ages, aroused and sustained the righteous wrath of reformers like Huss and Luther. But the beggar's vice—the lust of gold—has infected the laity as well as the clergy of Lourdes. Free-thinkers and infidels stick up views of the Grotto and pictures of the Holy Family on their walls, and make a harvest out of the pious pilgrims. The flesh avenges itself on the spirit for its infinite prayers and penances, and gorges its appetites, after starving them on a heavenly and too ethereal diet. The old simple Lourdes of the Pyrenæan peasantry, with their honest faith and pure morality, is gone, and in its place is a modern town of stucco buildings and shoddy splendour, where all the vices of great cities flaunt themselves as in a new Gomorrha. And the inhabitants of the Old Town feel a rancorous jealousy

of their neighbours of the New, who, from their proximity to the Grotto, reap all the advantages of the apparition of the Virgin which was really vouchsafed to the ardent faith of ancient Lourdes, before this upstart interloper was dreamed of.

And, during the three days of the National Pilgrimage, Lourdes is *en fete*, reminds the spectator of Vanity Fair. Careless and merry sight-seers from all the neighbouring Pyrenæan water-places—from Pau, from Canteretz, from Biarritz—come and go, visit the Grotto, buy a *souvenir*, treat themselves as on a holiday excursion. Impudent girls pester the pilgrims to buy bouquets, wax-candles for the Virgin, relics and images for themselves. Newspaper boys pierce the air with their shrill proclamation of the *Journal de la Grotte*, the organ of the supernatural. And the oldest inhabitants shake their heads, and tattle of the old times in old Lourdes, when the men were frugal and the women chaste, when the Grotto had not attracted the wealth and luxury, the vice and misery, of the great cities of the nineteenth century.

The artistic eye of M. Guersaint was sorely grieved by the bastard style of the architecture of the Churches and the gimcrack character of the religious trinkets and objects of devotion sold in the shops of Lourdes. The architects and artisans of this land of miracles, he observed, showed no sign of miraculous inspiration. And the Abbé Pierre, in listening to him, recognised the cause of a *malaise* which had troubled him since his arrival, and which arose, doubtless, from the want of accord between the modern environment and the faith of the ages gone, which was here sought to be revived. He thought of the old Cathedrals in which the devotion of the people found its expression, the pictures, the statuary, beautiful in conception and in execution. In those times the workmen were believers; they put their souls and their lives into the work, as M. Guersaint had expressed it. But to-day an architect designed a church with the same calm and scientific method with which he planned a model lodging-house, while the rosaries, the crucifixes, the statuettes sold at Lourdes were turned out by the thousands in the slums of Paris, made by machinery in workshops where both masters and workmen were infidels. One hardly knew whether to laugh or to cry over the silliness, the *niaiserie*, the lamentable want of taste and poverty of execution displayed in the religious statuary and objects of devotion with which Lourdes was crammed to overflowing, the very sight of which continually troubled the eyes of any person of artistic temperament. The brand-new modernity of these Brummagem ornaments assorted ill with the legends, the ceremonies, the processions of the Middle Ages which were resuscitated here; and Pierre saw in this incongruity

the condemnation of Lourdes, socially and historically; the Faith of a people, he thought, must be indeed dead, when it no longer puts it into the Churches that it builds, or the crucifixes that it carves.

The Abbé Pierre has, with some difficulty, obtained from le Père Fourcade permission for Mdlle. Marie de Guersaint to pass the night before the Grotto, a favour only granted to pilgrims specially recommended. And it is the second night of the Pilgrimage, the night of the Procession of the candles when thirty thousand pilgrims, each bearing a lighted wax-taper, mount the colossal ramp that leads to the Church of the Basilica crowning the summit of the rock above the Grotto, circumambulate the Shrine, and descend by the ramp on the opposite side. A glorious spectacle in the clear and balmy August night, this flood of light ascending and descending, showing, through the thick foliage of the trees, like the fire-flies in an Indian jungle, on the open glades and lawns like the Milky Way descended from sky to earth.

And, after the procession has passed and the lights have gone, Pierre wheels Marie's little chariot to the grating of the Grotto, and leaves her there to dream and pray, while he wanders through the night, visits the huge Church of the Rosary, where Masses are being said at once at all the fifteen altars, where files of priests relieve each other without ceasing, from midnight to mid-day, where crowds of rapt devotees await patiently their turn to communicate. And in his sympathy with this fervent devotion, his spirit seemed to be transported backward for nine centuries, to the heroic ages of the Church, when the people in their abysmal ignorance bowed themselves before the breath of Faith, which confided them, for their own welfare, to the hands of an Almighty Power. But though his heart was touched, his intellect remained unconquered. Coming out of the Church, he meets the Baron Suire, who introduces him to the interior of the Grotto, damp from the subterranean stream, greasy from the continual melting of the two hundred wax-candles which flame before the Virgin, from the sixty *franc* wax light, as big as an organ-pipe, to the little taper that cost ten *sous*. And before the statue are masses of bouquets of flowers fading in the warm, moist atmosphere. The Baron shows the Abbé "the Virgin's Post Office," where are kept the letters addressed to Her, often "thrown through the grating by the pilgrims, sometimes posted to "Our Lady of Lourdes" from all parts of France and of Catholic Europe.

"He rummaged among the letters, took up some of them at random, showed the addresses, opened them to read them. Nearly all of them were from poor illiterate people, the address, "A Notre Dame de Lourdes," scrawled in large and ill-formed capitals. Most

contained petitions, or thanks, badly expressed and frightfully misspelt; the contents were naive and touching: prayers for the recovery of a little brother, for the success of a law-suit, for the preservation of a lover, for the arrangement of a marriage. Other letters were couched in an angry tone, reproached the Holy Virgin, because she had not had the politeness to reply to a former letter, or to grant the prayer of the writer. Then there were others, better written, carefully worded, containing confessions, women's souls pouring out to the Queen of Heaven what they dared not confide even to priest in the gloom of the confessional. One envelope, the last opened, contained nothing but a photograph. A young girl sent her likeness to Notre Dame de Lourdes with the simple dedication "To My Sweet Mother." It was, in short, the post-bag of a mighty Queen who received every day petitions and confessions, and who was expected to reply by the grant of graces and benefits of all kinds. Some of the letters contained money, pieces of ten and twenty *sous*, to conciliate the Virgin by a gift: postage stamps sometimes took their place; and one, in pure innocence, was enclosed in the letter of a peasant-woman, who added a postscript to say that it was intended for the reply."

A storm had passed over Lourdes during the night, and Pierre, who was seated on a bench in the Grotto, felt his feet wet. He looked down; the miraculous fount had risen through the grating that covered it, the water trickling along the floor of the Grotto.

"And he perceived that the holy fountain, miraculous though it might be, was at all events subject to the same laws as other common fountains, for it surely communicated with natural reservoirs where the rain water penetrated and was collected."

The third and last day of the Pilgrimage arrives, and Marie, worn out by the fatigue of her vigil, cannot visit the Grotto till the afternoon. It is the last chance for curing the sick pilgrims, and it is also the occasion of the Procession of the Host in state from the Grotto to the church above it, followed by those who have been cured, to take part in the Solemn Service of Thanksgiving. The violence of Faith is on this last opportunity pushed to distraction; the praying priests clamorously vociferate, as if they would compel the sluggish bounty of Heaven to accelerate its tardy graces; their frenzied supplications excite the responsive multitudes to the highest pitch of wild enthusiasm. It is Faith unchained, the force that nothing can arrest, nothing can overcome.

The most strenuous efforts of Berthaud and his band of volunteers are needed to prevent the Grotto being stormed, carried by assault by the adorers, to save the grand Procession from being swamped, the golden Monstrance and the silken canopy from being swept away by the surging crowd.

The people are admitted at a wicket, ten at a time, to pass through the Grotto, to kiss the feet of the Virgin's statue, to throw down their offerings before her, to pass out at the other side. They try to reach the Monstrance, to touch it with

withered hands, to kiss it with dumb lips, to bring their sick children to pass under it, that they may be whole. It is like the scene at the temple of Puri in Orissa when the Car of Jagannath moves abroad. Cripples wave their crutches over their heads, deaf men join in the thundering responses, dumb men shout Hallelujah ! And Maric, de Guersaint, at the very crisis of the excitement and the triumph, struggles convulsively, then springs up, stands on her feet, joins in the Hosannas, miraculously cured of the evil that had kept her bed-ridden for eight long years ?

But Frère Isidore dies before the Grotto, his glazing eyes fixed in death on the smiling image of the unconscious Virgin. And poor little Rose also dies in her mother's arms, her end hastened by the journey and the exposure to the weather, while Madame Vincent, helpless and nopeless, blasphemes against God and disloyally rails against the Queen of Heaven. Madame Chaise dies suddenly in a spasm of the heart, produced by the excitement, leaving her fortune to her nephew Gustave Vignerou, and his parents in serio-comic perplexity at finding themselves rather rejoicing over the fortune, when they should be only thinking of sincerely sorrowing for the dead. Madame Vetu dies in the hospital ward, in tortures, faithfully tended by the sympathetic Dr. Ferrand and his favourite Sister Hyacinthe.

But the husband of Madame Maze appears at Lourdes, having taken it in his travels in order to call there for his wife ; and she goes away with him happy in the belief that the Virgin has accorded her wish. Madame de la Jonquiere's patients in the third-class carriage of the " White Train " are thus sadly diminished in number on the return journey ; but the good lady is happy in the reflection that those who have been taken are blessed ; that two of those who return are cured ; and that her daughter, Raymonde, is engaged to Gerard de Peyrelongue. But the condition of La Grivotte disturbs her, and she watches, with anxiety, the feverish excitement, the hectic flush of the *Miraculée* : And, sure enough, hardly has the train left Lourdes, when La Grivotte is seized, with a choking fit of coughing, and the napkin with which Sister Hyacinthe wipes the sufferer's lips is once more stained with red.

M. Sabathier returns as he went, no better for his seventh pilgrimage to Lourdes, but obstinately bent on going next year for the eighth time, and talking gaily of going on to Rome after his cure, and Pierre remains stupefied by this astounding, persistent credulity, propagating itself and flourishing in the brain of an otherwise intelligent and well-educated man.

The young Abbé himself is miserable, for the miraculous cure of his beloved Marie has only destroyed his own faith for ever : he sees in the supposed miracle only the natural result of physical causes, as foretold and explained by the Doctor, at Paris. And Marie is sad, too, for though her own body is cured, she divines, with the instinct of love, the trouble of her lover, and the peril of his soul. But he was weeping, not for losing his faith, but for losing her. A strong temptation assails him, to enlighten her, to put the plain truth before her, to free her reason, to break the bonds that bind himself that they may love and be happy together. But an overpowering pity restrained him, overcame him, almost obliterated his grief. No ! He could not trouble that innocent soul ; he could not take away her faith which, perhaps, some day would be her only solace and support in the troubles and sorrows of life. The bitter heroism of Truth was not for women and children. He had not the strength, he had not even the right to undeceive her : it would have seemed a violation, an outrage. And he remained silent, only the burning tears continuing to flow in this immolation of his love, in this despairing sacrifice of his own happiness, that she might be innocent, ignorant, and contented.

And in the dimly-lighted carriage, while M. de Guersaint snores peacefully, and La Grivotte coughs convulsively in the soothing arms of Sister Hyacinthe, Pierre and Marie exchange their pathetic confidences : he pouring out to her his sorrow at his own fate, prevented from making her his own ; from fulfilling the cherished dream of their childish love ; and she strives to console him, timidly whispering that she has vowed herself to the Virgin in gratitude for her cure, that she will never marry another. And in these sad and sweet confidences they feel the joy of each other's pure affection, the ethereal consolation of a spiritual marriage.

And Pierre, while Marie sleeps on his shoulder and his travelling companions slumber round him, falls into a profound *reverie*. He thinks of all that he has seen at Lourdes, the strange anachronism of the great religious pilgrimages of the ninth century revived and repeated in the nineteenth. The spectacle had decisively killed his own faith, expiring before. Yes ; the *naïve* faith of the child who kneels in prayer at its mother's knee, the simple faith of primitive man, bowing himself down in the holy fear born of ignorance, was killed ; dead for ever. Thousands of pilgrims might go year by year to Lourdes, but the nations were no longer with them ; and this attempt to revive blind Faith, the dead Faith of the dead centuries, the Faith that brooked not challenge or question, was bound to end in egregious failure. History does not retrace

its steps. Humanity will not renew its infancy, times are changed, new ideas have germinated and produced other harvests, and the men of to-day will never reproduce the cults of their ancestors. They were done with. Lourdes to-day was the exception that proved the rule, a re-action, the violence of which was only a proof of the agony of the death-spasm in which Faith, under its ancient form, of Catholicism, was writhing. Never more would the entire nation prostrate itself, as the ancient nation of believers had done in the cathedrals and churches of the twelfth century, like a flock of sheep under the crook of their master. Those who blindly hoped for such a thing, attempted the impossible, ran the risk of bringing about a social and moral catastrophe.

But though his faith was gone, he had brought back with him from Lourdes an immense, an overwhelming pity, which filled his soul, saturated his whole being. He had seen the thousands of miserable wretches sobbing, praying, begging God to have mercy upon them: and he had prayed with them; he felt, as it were a bleeding wound, a sympathetic partnership in all their suffering. He could not even think of the poor creatures without a burning desire to assuage their pain. If faith was really dead, if it was folly to try to bring back the past, should we then shut up the Grotto, preach patience and fortitude to the people? No, never! Pity forbade it. It would be a crime to shut the gates of their Fool's Paradise on those poor sick souls and crippled bodies, who only felt some relief in kneeling there, amidst the blaze of the wax-lights, the rhythmic lullaby of the chants and hymns. He himself had not dared to commit the outrage of undeceiving Marie: he would have sacrificed himself to leave her the joy of her illusion, the divine solace of having been cured by the Virgin. Where was the man so cruel as to prevent the faithful from believing, as to kill in them the consolation of the supernatural, the belief that God cared for them, the hope that He kept a better life in store for them in His heaven? The whole of Humanity was crying, groaning in travail, like one smitten with an incurable disease, not to be saved but by a miracle. No! Lourdes must be tolerated, encouraged, as a saving, redeeming delusion. Ah, how good, how blessed, to solace the woes of suffering Humanity, to lull it to the forgetfulness of its sorrows in a blissful dream, to comfort it even with a soothing lie!

But no sooner had he come to this conclusion, than fresh scruples occurred to his mind, again troubled his anxious *reverie*. This religion of human sympathy, this redemption by suffering, might it not prove a snare, a perpetual aggravation of the sufferings which it sought to alleviate? Was it not base and cowardly to connive at superstition? To accept it as necessity,

to tolerate it as harmless, was to perpetuate the evils of the Dark Ages. Superstition enfeebled and brutalised the nations, propagated its habits of slavish submission through the hereditary of generations, whom it made an easy prey to the tyrant and the oppressor, armed with Divine Right, aided by the authority of the Church. The people were ground down, robbed, exploited in this world, because they placed all their hopes, expended all their strength and energy in the preparation for another. Would it not be the best course to have recourse to heroic remedies, to forcibly shut up these miraculous Grottos to which the people flocked to bemoan their hard fate, to force them to face the reality of life in spite of their supplications to be left to their illusions ?

And this infinite incense of prayers, this ceaseless chorus of chants rising from the multitudes at Lourdes, which had provoked his pity and stirred his sympathies, what was it, but a childish lullaby, a feeble excuse for the slothful abandonment of exertion ? It involved the renunciation of the will, the dissolution of the strength, discontent with life, distaste for action. Of what avail to plan or to strive when all depends on the caprice of an Invisible and Almighty Power ? Besides, this strange craze for prodigies, for signs, this mad desire to force the hand of God, to make Him transgress the laws of Nature, which He, in His infinite wisdom, had established ! That way madness lay. Why not oppose it, why not try to develop, among men and women, and above all among children, the habit of self-reliance and the courage of truth, even at the risk of losing the blessed consolation of illusion ?

Then a great light illumined the soul of *Pierre*, dazzled his bewildered mind. It was the light of reason ; it protested against the apotheosis of the irrational, the stultification of common sense. It was in his reason that he suffered, in his reason only that he rejoiced. As he had said to Doctor Chassaigne, he felt an absolute necessity for satisfying it, even at the sacrifice of his happiness. It was the continual revolt of his reason, as he could now well see, at the Grotto, in the Basilica, in Lourdes altogether, that had prevented the revival of his faith. He had not been able to kill it, to smother it, to humble it, like his good old friend, struck by calamity in his wretched old age, renewing the credulity of his happy childhood in his desolate heart. Reason was his sovereign mistress, she who sustained him in the face of the difficulties and the contradictions of science. When explanation was lacking, it was she who whispered : "There is certainly a natural explanation, though it is hidden now." He saw the slow, gradual but sure and certain success achieved by the human reason in the search for the Unknown, in spite of all the feebleness of the

body and the weakness of the mind. In the conflict of his duplex heredity, his father all intellect, his mother all faith, he had been able to conquer the flesh, to renounce the joys of love, in obedience to his friendly vow : but he felt that in this final combat he must side with his father's forces, for the renunciation of his reason was simply impossible to him.

No ! the sacredness of sympathy with human suffering should be no obstacle to reason, should not plead with him for the toleration of ignorance and folly. Reason above all things, Salvation lay only in reason ! If he had declared, when he was bathed in tears, dissolved in sympathy, that it sufficed to pity and to love, he had been fatally mistaken. Pity and sympathy were only means, not ends. We must live and act. Either reason must vanquish misery, or we must endure it for ever.

But no sooner had he arrived at this conclusion, than another current of thought threw him back upon his former troubled imaginings. What and whence was this imperious craving for another life which infected suffering humanity ? Why did people form an ideal of justice and equality when such things were conspicuously non-existent in impassible Nature ? Mankind had relegated them to the region of the mysterious and the unknown, the supernatural Heaven of religion, and so contented their burning desire. This inextinguishable thirst for happiness had always tormented them, and would torment them to the end. If the fathers at the Grotto drove such a roaring trade, it was because they trafficked in the Divine. The thirst for the Divine, which nothing had assuaged through all the ages, seemed to gather fresh torment here, at the close of our century of science. Lourdes was a manifest and irrefutable argument that it might prove ever impossible to awaken mankind from its dream of an Almighty Power, re-establishing equity, restoring happiness by the lightning stroke of miracles. When man has fathomed the depths of misery, he recovers himself by taking refuge in the Divine Illusion ; and this is the origin of all religions. Weak and helpless man could not face the ills of life without " la Sainte Mensonge " of an eternal Paradise. Experience had already amply proved that science could avail nothing here, that the gates of mystery must be still left open for the passage of the imagination.

And he came to the conclusion, that, since the world could not live without religion, a new religion must arise to satisfy its aspirations, as Christianity arose eighteen centuries ago to re-model the corrupt social conditions of the Roman Empire. Already the salt had lost its savour, the old bottles were bursting with the new wine. Religion had been divorced from

reality, it had come to mean mysticism, hatred of life, paralysis of action. A new religion was wanted, which would locate its Heaven in the real world, instead of in an imaginary one.

And he thought of his brother William, chemist, rationalist and socialist. Were these Socialists, Anarchists, Nihilists, the Apostles of a new religion? If they were dreamers, were not the people who knelt before the Grotto dreamers, too? Were not the Apostles of Christianity denounced as dangerous dreamers, persecuted to death as the enemies of established society? After all—pilgrims, apostles, and anarchists—all sought the same end—the salvation of mankind, the establishment of peace, justice, universal happiness; only those relied on miracles for the realization of their dream, these on force and terrorism. And Pierre, in his horror of violence, felt himself the ally of the old state of society which defended itself against these new assailants, while, at the same time, he was conscious of a longing for a new Messiah to redress its inequalities and iniquities. A new religion may be wanted, but it is not so easy to invent one!

And he felt himself isolated, stranded between the old Faith which was dying, and the new Faith which was yet unborn. But his part was chosen, he had but to fulfil his vows, to do his duty honestly, to safeguard in others the faith which he had himself spurned, in the melancholy pride of the reason which he had found it impossible to renounce, as he had renounced the flesh. He could only suffer and wait.

We have thus briefly and insufficiently sketched the plot of this remarkable book, which must greatly enhance the already great reputation of its author. The storm of indignation which it has excited in the world of the Catholic Church is a conclusive testimony to its power, and to its estimated effect on the mind of its readers. M. Zola has abundantly vindicated his claim to be regarded as the Apostle of realism, the master of the school which searches for truth, to present it to the world under the guise and in the garb of fiction.

F. H. TYRRELL

ART. II.—HOME RULE AND INDIA.

WE may confidently prophesy that, if a "Bill for the Better Government of Ireland" ever passes into law, full use will be made of the fact by the leaders of New India. The talented advocates of Indian rights will rise in eloquent indignation and protest. A measure of autonomy, they will say, which has been granted to a turbulent little Western island, cannot, in common justice, be refused to England's Great Empire in the East. Precedent and analogy will be insisted on, with a logical grace and assurance that would have won Edmund Burke's admiration; and skill in debate, more than Parliamentary, will be shown by turbaned politicians whose mastery of European methods has been gained, one fears, only by forgetting the ancient traditions and ideals of their land.

Why—some silver-tongued son of the Delta will ask—should not constitutional uniformity apply to all parts of Her Majesty's great dominions, in the years when, for the first time, the title of Empress of India appears on British coins?

How—a dusky thinker from Benares will echo—can privileges, conceded by one hand, be denied by the other. Is not justice the same where the sun rises as where he gathers up his evening rays?

Then all will rise and cry in chorus:—Are Irishmen better than Indians? Give us Home Rule, too. Behind these eloquent children of echo, rise dim vistas of the real India; the India of the deserts and forests, of hill and valley, and limitless plain; the India of fierce heat and rain-storms, of temples and tanks and rice-fields; with its innumerable peoples and illimitable past; an India owning hardly any relation at all to the glib protest and precedent of the National Congress and its self-appointed representatives.

To understand this real India, one must enter into the life of many races with the minute care of the ethnologist, and with a sympathy, imagination, and sense of human life that too few ethnologists possess. One must realise the daily activities of the villages, see the races in the light of their own traditions, and understand their present by a knowledge of their past.

Even then, after every care has been taken, a hundred distinctions will pass unnoticed; for it is difficult, almost impossible, to appreciate the total diversities of the Indian people—intellectual, moral, and physical—; to realise the life of races as different as Rajput and Uriya and Bengali, the peasant of Behar, the Mahratta, the gentle-tempered peoples of the Dravida

country, Panjabi and Santal, and a hundred other mutually unintelligible races whose diversities are not less, though their names are hardly known. And it must be remembered that every one of these races, and every sub-division of their tribes, has a mode and tenor of life, and a type of thought and feeling, consolidated into almost perfect uniformity by centuries and millenniums of the most rigid conservatism ; for India, in its totality, is the most conservative country in the world.

The natives of India, in their overwhelming majority, belong to what Sir Henry Maine used to call the stationary, non-progressive races which make up the vast majority of mankind. The existence of these thoroughly unprogressive races, treading exactly in the footsteps of their ancestors for millenniums, must be realised and grasped before one can even cross the threshold of a true understanding of India.

There is no difference in human life so deep as that between the stationary multitude and the progressive few : a difference which has held throughout the whole of history. Here and there a single tribe, a mere sub-race, has caught the fire of progress, as in Egypt, or Athens, or Rome ; while all round, vast masses remain at halt, living lives and thinking thoughts already centuries old, and having neither the will nor the power to press forward into the untried paths of change.

This division is essentially true in India to-day. There is a vast stationary majority, and a mere handful of progressive tribes, who try to assimilate the language and thoughts of their conquerors. According to the measure of this assimilation, the few leave whatever touch they had with the masses of their countrymen, who move not at all, or as slowly as the secular changes of geology. As careful study and sympathy gradually lead to a vivid realisation of one field of life after another, in the almost infinitely varied assembly of India's people, one after another the most notable types stand out clear and distinct. The Rajputs, children of the sun, the moon, and fire, a royal race in India, as the Normans in Europe, but, like the Normans, suffering eclipse ; the Rajputs, sons of the deserts and mountains, where every pass is a Thermopylæ ; every valley a Marathon ; with their inborn pride of aristocracy ; their high ideal to live nobly and to die in battle ; their chivalrous respect for women ; their quiet dignity, touched with wild occasional ferocity ; their hospitality, unswerving loyalty to their chiefs, and unyielding valour in the face of the foe ; the Rajputs, the most stalwart and manly race in India, gave kings and nobles to every province, from Sind to Orissa, whose princes could make no higher boast than that they were descended from the children of the Sun. The Rajputs, the Normans of India, have, like the Normans, a deep inborn

instinct for feudalism, the natural outcome of respect and obedience to the character and manliness of their chiefs. And, with all their valour in battle, they were deeply religious; for from their royal solar race sprang Siddhârtha, greatest of all the Indian sages.

The Rajputs are the foremost race of India, whether from their beauty and stature, their valour and native nobility, or the splendid record of their past. Opposed to the Rajputs in every particular of genius and character, though like them in old renown, are the Brahmins; in their purer elements, at any rate, descendants of the White Aryans, whose invasion, millenniums ago, marks a notable epoch in the history of India. The Brahmins are, numerically, a very small section of India's millions; and the number of Brahmins of pure type is smaller still, for the old nucleus of Aryans have surrounded themselves by many families recruited in ancient days among the earlier tribes, who were able to conform to their genius and ideals. The old Brahmins were a race who lived, not for war, but for religion and learning; their ideal was not sturdy and independent manhood, but rather an entire effacement of the individual in the order; with this, a lifelong subjection of woman as a weaker being, the eternal spiritual debtor of her lord and master, and, above all, a monastic devotion, drawing all the energies away from the life of the world to the dim beyond.

This, the earliest ideal, gave place, in the minds of a weaker generation, to an organised priestcraft, greedily grasping for power through the force of popular superstition, and trading on past religious benefits, to justify the tyranny of the present.

These two great races—the Rajput and the Brahmin—, since the Vedic days of Vishvamitra and Vasishta, perpetual rivals for supremacy, with their marked and complete contrasts in ideal, and their deep, irreconcilable differences of character, show at once, even if every other race were left out of account, that uniform autonomy would be impossible in India. These rivals for five thousand years, if their own records are to be believed, will not be hushed into sudden amity by the mere name of representative government. For ages the genius of the one race has found expression in feudalism and war; of the other in theocracy, shadowed by priestly tyranny: the two could no more be blended by our Parliamentary formulas than the Rajput's battle-steed and the Brahmin's sacred cow could be driven in double harness.

The life of these deeply antagonistic races flatly contradicts our democratic creeds and schemes of politics, which look at men, with their potencies, as human atoms, perfectly hard and perfectly uniform.

But these two races, the closest to ourselves in character and thought, are a mere fraction in India's millions, though a fraction that has outweighed all the rest in the grand records of the past. They bear a ratio hardly more considerable than we ourselves, or our Moghal predecessors, to the sum total of the masses of India; the inarticulate races below them, the aboriginal peoples who were already old in civilisation in the days of the first Aryan migrations, thousands of years ago.

These toiling millions, whose voices are never heard in the councils and congresses of their land, are like the brown, warm depths of some silent forest pool, on whose surface lotuses spread, first red, then white, then pale blue and rose coloured: as the Rajputs, the Brahmans, the Mughals and the English have come and rested for a while on the surface of India's people, hardly disturbing their life more than the lotuses disturb the silent depths of the forest pool.

These inarticulate multitudes toil on, paying tribute now to this, now to that conqueror, hardly knowing, hardly caring, how their tax-collectors have been changed. It must be remembered that these toiling millions in India, forming a sixth of the whole human race, are almost completely illiterate. Their whole mental life is made of dim traditions, folk tales and fancies hardly ever reaching beyond the boundaries of their village. Beyond their huts are the rice lands; beyond these are their pastures; and beyond these is the trackless unknown of infinite space.

As far as politics go, they have—at least the better informed among them—a dim idea that they are governed by a something called "*Kampani Bahadur*," which the gods sent them for their sins; and this though a quarter of a century has passed since the East India Company ceased to be. On the field of Plassey, among the sweet scented babul-bushes, there is a little village of herdsmen, and in the village are two monuments to the victory that gave us India. The first of these monuments, a lean shaft of granite, with broken iron railings, was erected a few years ago by the British Indian Government. The other monument was built by the villagers themselves. It is a low pyramid of mud, with a cavity in one side to hold a lamp wick on high days and holidays; and on the pyramid are heaped clay horses, a span long, for the spirits of Plassey's dead to ride. The pyramid is fenced by six bamboo posts, strung together at the top with cotton threads; on each post, a yellow tuft of silk from waste cocoons, an offering to the village gods.

The old men of the village tell you that, years ago, there was a great battle there between the Nawabs and the *Sahibs*, as they called the old Mussalman rulers of Bengal and their

English rivals. The Nawabs, they relate, came from the North, with their elephants; and the *Sahibs* came from the South, with their guns; and they fought and many were slain. The old men do not remember why they fought; for it is a long, long time ago.

Thus the natives of Plassey village. What other tribes, more remote, understand about their rulers, one can hardly guess; there are millions upon millions who never saw and never will see, a white man's face. These masses, who wear their souls out among the rice-fields, are so remote from us in every respect of their lives that distance blends them into hardly distinguishable uniformity. But closer scrutiny shows that they are really made up of innumerable tribes, each differing from each in almost everything that goes to make up their life; in traditions, character, and hopes. These innumerable tribes may be grouped under two, possibly three, great race types, as different from each other as the Chinaman from the Negro, or the fair Polynesian from the black-fellow of Australia.

As in the latter cases, so in the former, a difference in race-type means a deep-seated, inherent difference in range and capacity of life: a difference in thought, character, feelings, traditions, everything that makes the personality of man. These deep, ineradicable differences; that untold millenniums of monotonous life in remote villages and secluded valleys have ingrained in the very bones and flesh of tribe and tribe, we would try to gloss over by the mere name of representative government for India; which might, indeed, hide for a while their discrepancies, as the pink convolvulus in the Mahratta country climbs over ruined fort and temple and rock alike.

The dust-storm, whirling over the parched plains, covers with dull, red shadows the lair of the cobra, the white cups and silver spines of the cactus, and the English violet that sentiment has cherished into life in some sheltered corner; but their irreconcilable differences remain. We would seek to smother up institutions as wide apart as military feudalism, theocracy, and socialism, under the mantle of a representative democracy which we have reached in Europe to-day and may tire of to-morrow. Our inevitable failure might, perhaps, teach us—if people ever learn by failure—that no institution can benefit a country, or a race, unless it has grown out of that race's character; and that the first condition of fitness for representative government is that the race to whom it is to be applied should have grown up to it, and passed through all the earlier stages which we ourselves have been passing through since the old days of Runnymede and the Charter. For representative government to be anything more than a name,

the nation's elect should, in as far as may be, embody in themselves the best hopes and tendencies of the people. The representatives should really represent. We have, already shown, constructively, that this is altogether impossible in the case of India, inasmuch as India has, and can have, no national life and tendencies ; for India is not one nation, but a teeming mother of nations.

But besides this general reason, quite final in itself, certain special considerations may make the issue clearer. Leaving on one side, for the moment, less salient points of difference, all important as these are in their proper place, one may say that there are in reality two Indias, far more widely separated than Norman and Saxon were in England in the first tyrannous years after the battle of Hastings.

We have dominant on the one side,—whether through political or religious influence,—races like the Rajput and the Brahman, and the castes of mixed blood that cluster round them. Of these, since our military supremacy, following on the Mughal and Mahratta arms, has dwarfed the power of the Rajputs, the most influential are certainly the Brahmanical group, the men who carry in their blood the theocratic traditions of Manu ; in whose ideal the gods are a little lower than the Brahmans, under whose feet all other men have placed their necks.

The traditional methods of this, the Brahmanical class, have always been to hold pre-eminence : first, by spiritual purity and moral force ; then, when their earliest ideal has been deserted, they have secured their power by every artifice of priestcraft and tyranny of superstition : by the methods of the augur, the astrologer, and soothsayer.

It is this class, with their skill in speech, their literary talent, and their diplomatic habit of shadowing the opinions of their political superiors, which our bureaucratic government in India has brought to the front. Our University education on English models has opened to them new vistas of power, as officials, lawyers, and, lastly, eloquent politicians, adapting to their own ends the ideals and methods of the doctrinary politics of Europe. These Asian Britons and effusively loyal subjects of Her Majesty, who have laid aside their old theocratic ideals to talk of the rights of democracy and the triumphs of the Great Charter, are, in traditions, instincts, and blood, the lineal descendants of the priestcraft of Manu, who ground the other India with tyrannous heel, enslaving souls for this world and the next.

The other India is the India of the lowly cultivators, the dark toiling multitudes, ignorant of arts and letters, and everything of culture, but a primitive tradition of tillage, and the

kindly amenities of the simplest human life. These humble millions, eternally silent, for all the purposes of our politics, are among the oldest races in the world. They were probably at work in their rice-fields, with the same tireless industry, the same gentle gaiety, in their struggle with never distant want, ages before those old days when the first conquering Aryan poised like an eagle on the peaks of the Hindu Kush, ready to swoop down on the plains and valleys of India.

This humbler India—the India of the fields and mountains and valleys, the India that has no voice at all, and can have no voice in councils, or congress, or press—is not a mere million or two of men, but a great multitude of more than two hundred millions, more than twice the population of both Americas.

It is precisely in dealing with this lowlier India, the never vocal toilers of the fields and forests, that our English rule has won its greatest honours; in establishing their rights against the encroachments of land-owners and money-lenders, and the subtle tyranny of priests. Everyone familiar with the administration of India, can recall a dozen instances of striking success of our officers in establishing remote tribes and races on the basis of their own traditions, and along the lines of their national laws. Unhappily, it is not difficult to point to cases in which this settlement has been the signal for an inroad of the old tyrannous element that made up the theocracy of Manu; and the helpless tribes have fallen into the clutches of Brahman lawyers wielding the old weapons of subtlety, and legalised extortion. A notable instance of this was signalled by the revolt of the Santals, who might, if they had been protected from the Brahmanical polity, have formed a community of Arcadian truth and honesty, full of gentle humour, and not too laborious toil.

But the Santals are only a drop in the ocean of the lowlier India, like them in their dumb helplessness against oppression, and their utter inability to avail themselves of the methods of democracy. No possible scheme of representation could give suitable expression to the ideals and wishes of this lowly India of millions, if they had to cope in common assembly with the hardier military races, and the far astuter, more subtle and eloquent, and therefore more dangerous, members of the old Brahmanical theocracy, into whose hands we would most assuredly deliver them once more, for spoiling and subjection, by any scheme of Home Rule for India, along the lines of Western politics.

Nor, indeed, is it thinkable that they could even meet in any common assembly but that which gathered impotent after Babel; for hardly one of them could express himself in English,

or could, through the hereditary limitations of his character and traditions, crystallised through thousands of years, frame the most elementary notion of the ideal and evangels of the representative system we had given him. Nor, setting aside English, if Urdu were chosen—the *lingua franca* of the Mughal Empire, and the language most generally understood—would the fate of the lowlier India be any better. For not one in a hundred thousand of the toilers really understands Urdu, which was, after all, never the tongue of the people, but a mere camp jargon of deformed Persian, exalted into the rank of a literary language by the poets and annalists of the Mughals. Everyone who has watched the proceedings of our courts in India, has seen the simple vernacular evidence of the cultivators twisted into a directly contrary sense by the attorney who translates it into Urdu, or the barrister who translates it into English ; and in this way many an honest cause has been lost. And this not merely in the case of Savaras, Khonds, and Mhairs, whose language hardly one European knows, but in the case of villagers speaking remote country dialects of the great vernaculars like Bengali or Hindi. And if causes are lost in an open law court with an English Judge of complete impartiality, causes would be lost more hopelessly in a representative assembly of India, where the decision would lie with the descendants of the old Brahmanical polity whose mastery of diplomacy and intrigue would give them pre-eminent power.

But if we can suppose a linguistic miracle wrought ; if we can suppose that the silent millions of India could become vocal ; that every obscure and lowly tribe should give clear expression to its political hopes, their ideal would hardly go beyond a humble aspiration that they might till their fields in peace, and that the burden of taxes might not press so hardly on tired necks ;—if they had gone so far in political learning as to call 'taxation' that part of the fruit of their toil which they must give up in exchange for dim rights and hardly visible privileges. But a linguistic miracle that would make India of one tongue and one lip, is impossible ; and, failing that, to impose on our Eastern Empire any scheme of Home Rule on our modern doctrinary lines, would be to deliver the vast dumb majority once more into the hands of their hereditary spoilers.

Already signs of this delivering over are not wanting, without any Home Rule scheme to help in the work. As each year passes, the Brahmanical class becomes more and more at home in our language and political methods, with the aid of our diminishing skill in Oriental tongues and our diminishing nearness to the life of the people, who were far closer to us

in the old days of personal influence than under our perfected bureaucracy. 'This Brahmanical class are forming a thicker and thicker veil, which hides the lowly millions' of India, not only from the people of Britain, but, it is to be feared, even from our administrators in India. And then we are falling more into the hands of our native subordinates, whose mastery of English is rendering less apparently necessary our perfect acquirement of the native tongues.

But, putting aside this fiction of a representative government for India on Western lines, as certainly as injurious to the real welfare of the people as it is happily impossible to carry out,—we may imagine a measure of Home Rule for India, in accordance with Indian life, which would bring real benefit to those of the peoples of India who need it most. This hope of the better government of India would lie in more closely watching, and more sympathetically ascertaining, the real traditional life of each tribe and clan, and in moulding our measures accordingly.

But such a scheme of better government as this, it may be said, would entail enormous labour on our officials, and would demand of them far greater practical mastery of the obscure corners of human life and language in India, than the present system of examinations is capable of giving them.

This is quite true. The practical difficulties would be very great—far greater than those of any mere doctrinary scheme of uniformity; but then the honour of success, and the practical benefit to India, would be great in proportion to the difficulty; and this difficulty need cause no real apprehension to a nation which boasts of being the greatest administrative power since the days of the Romans. To sum up, then: no uniform scheme of Home Rule for India could possibly fulfil the ideals and carry out the tendencies of even one Indian race, much less of all the races that fill our Eastern Empire; nor would such representatives as this scheme could call forth represent the innumerable peoples in anything more than name. On the contrary, such a scheme, by putting all political power in the hands of an oligarchy, would, in reality, be far more tyrannous than the brief despotism of an Aurangzeb.

CHARLES JOHNSTON,

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ART. III.—BURIED GOLD :

A PAGE FROM THE BOOK OF HUMAN FOLLY.

THE practice of burying treasure is one of the commonest throughout India. It is the survival, no doubt, of the ages when, at any moment, every civilised institution was apt to be overwhelmed in a death-struggle, as some bond-slave or free-booter hewed his way to the throne with his scimitar, or swarms of marauding horsemen probed even walls and floors with their lance-points in search of plunder. It must be recollected that, until the establishment of the British Empire, a lavish display of riches, even in times of peace, was liable to set some despot's fingers itching, while the owner's head rested uneasy on his shoulders. Even now, since the *pax Britannica* has been established from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, the intense conservatism of the people induces them to commit their savings to Mother Earth, rather than to banks and trust-companies, for all their tempting circulars and high dividends. The dry-rot which of late has attacked many banks in India, may justify us in doubting whether, after all, the native expedient of burial is not the safest investment.

Under these circumstances, of course, the discovery of treasure-trove is by no means uncommon, as many a perplexed and worried Magistrate will avouch. In fact, it is frequent enough to keep alive the wildest superstitions among the villagers. To this rule the Benares District constitutes no exception. Ancient ruins are supposed to contain buried treasures, each guarded by the shade of a Brahman maiden, who is worshipped by the peasants, with vermilion and the fire-offering, under the title of the *Marī Jī*. The legend is, in each case, that a Brahman maiden was immured in the foundations, at the age of seven, with a burning lamp, and that, as the lamp flickered out in darkness, her spirit quitted her body, to haunt the castle for ever as its sentinel and avenger. The crumbling gate-way which alone remains of the palace at the village of Chandrauti, is plastered blood-red with vermilion in honour of such a spirit, while, near the Buddhist stupa of Sārṇāth, *Marī Jī Mahalya*, dwelling in a lonely and weather-beaten tamarind, watches over the treasures, which are buried somewhere between the three lakes enunperated in this village sing-song :—

Naī ! Narokhar ! Chandartīl !
Ek lākh lagāwe,
Nau lākh pāwe,
Na jāne is pār, na jāne us pār.

Naf ! Narokhar ! Chandartāl !
 But one lakh spend thou,
 And nine lakhs shalt thou find,
 Yet know I not, on the hither or on the yonward bank.]

The village wiseacre shook his head with a smile, when I attempted to explain to him that General Cunningham's, excavations of this stupa were intended to serve the purposes of archæology. "He could not find the treasure," muttered the grey-headed elder, "because he forgot to offer to *Mari Ji*." Misers are supposed to watch over their treasures after their death in the shape of serpents ; and there is a widely believed tradition to the effect that, a few years ago, an indigo-planter, whose real name was Mr. Farquharson, but to whom the natives always allude as *Bāl Kissan Shāhib*, was pursued by the serpent-shade of King Buddh Sen, supposed to be buried at Sārṇāth, and bearing, in his name, an obvious reminiscence of Buddha. The rustics believe that the serpent did not relinquish the pursuit until some Brahman servants of the factory humbly interceded for their master.

Treasure unearthed is liable to be transformed into wasps and scorpions, if the finder devote it to unworthy uses. On the other hand, close to a well near the Chaubepur police station, a holy mendicant, on begging for largess from a landholder, is stated to have been mockingly presented with three scorpions ; but these, to the confusion of the scoffer, were converted into golden coins, as soon as they tumbled into the gourd which serves the mendicants as a wallet. A similar story relates that the Seven Thieves were much disturbed on their expeditions by the voice of a holy priest who passed his nights in prayer. On one occasion, they broke open the tomb of some forgotten monarch, and carried away an urn of treasure to their hiding-place in the forest, for the purpose of dividing their booty. To their intense annoyance, it had been transformed into a crawling mass of scorpions. "Through the smoke-hole," cried they spitefully, "pour we the vermin on the pate of this hoary-headed psalm-singer." No sooner, however, had they clambered up to the roof-tree and poured down the scorpions, than each insect was converted into a golden coin, and, in a blaze of holy light, a shower of wealth descended around the priest. "Almighty Lord," prayed the simple sage, "I thank Thee, that my life-long prayer Thou hast answered !"

A very common superstition is embodied in the proverb, *Lachmī chaltī*, or "Wealth travels." The idea is that, unless appeased by a human sacrifice, buried treasure will not remain content in its hiding-place. When, therefore, a period of interment has been settled, and that period has expired, the treasure becomes restless, and wanders about under the earth, in search

of a human victim. Its voice is heard in the stillness of the night, whispering into the ears of needy villagers to sacrifice their children, and tempting them by the promise of boundless riches. Sometimes, however, the treasure travels above-ground. A story is related that, during the rainy season, a grass-cutter was sitting on the bank of the Barna river, and drearily watching the rushing water. "Heigho," he cried, "in this world there is no justice! The chapman dieth, and his buried treasure rotteth beneath the earth, idle and forgotten. Yet must my daughter remain unmarried, for not ten pice can I scrape together, to furnish forth her dowry!" "Peace, prattling fool!" cried a voice from the river, and the grass-cutter beheld a wondrous vessel, that appeared like a brazen cauldron, floating on the surface of the water. Slowly the top opened like the mouth of an oyster, disclosing a pile of golden coins in the belly of the vessel. "Reach out thine hand," again cried the mystic voice, "one handful of gold shalt thou take, that the tears of thy daughter may be dried!" The grass-cutter took a handful of gold from the treasure-heap, but, in the same moment, a devilish lust of riches possessed his heart, and, with a cry of defiance, he plunged both hands into the bowels of the cauldron. With a clang the brazen rims of its mouth snapped together, lopping off both his hands at the wrist-bone, and, with a peal of mocking laughter, the cauldron vanished under the waters.

The most amusing instance, however, in which I have known the proverb, "Wealth travels," to be applied, was in an action-at-law which I tried as an Assistant Magistrate at Benares, and in which the business manager of one of the priests of the Maharajah of Coorg prosecuted two persons, on the allegation that they had dishonestly possessed some of his master's golden ornaments, having reason to believe them to be stolen property. The prisoners could not deny the identity of the jewelery, or the fact of their possession, and, for lack of better argument, their attorney contended, without moving a muscle of his countenance, that the priest must have buried his treasure, which had happened to arrive, on its underground travels, into the dwelling of his unfortunate clients, and had been unearthed by them, through the merest accident, while they were repairing their foundations. It is needless to add that this treasure found two victims.

There are plenty of sharp-witted scoundrels, of course, who wander about the country, on the certain chance of fleecing "hempen home-spuns" by tempting them with promises of lifting treasure. It is easy to parade a little pitying contempt for the villager who thus buys his experience at the expense of all his savings. It is not so long ago, however, since the graceless

lay-brother, Balsamo, obtained sixty gold-ounces, in Sicily, from the jeweller Marano, on a promise of helping him to unearth an immense treasure from a cavern by the sea-shore, though the luckless jeweller gained nothing for his money beyond a tremendous thrashing from half-a-dozen flame-coloured demons, who burst from the treasure-vault at his approach. Still less time has elapsed since the same Balsamo, now parading himself in frills and red-heeled shoes as the Count Cagliostro, held the flower of the Curland nobles enthralled with his outstretched rapier, while, inside the "tabernacle," they heard his "orphan" descend the steps of the mysterious treasure-vault of Wilzen, and there exchange kisses with the Seven Spirits of the Air, as the riches of a forgotten sorcerer were secured with a magic nail against the inroads of black magicians. It is true that the latter-day native of this country cannot rival, either in grandeur of conception, or in dauntless nerve of execution, that hierophant of humbugs; but on the shelves of the District offices of Ghazipur and Benares, will be found the dusty records of two trials which fling a curious side-light on the workings of the Indian treasure-seeker.

Lakman Ahir was a substantial yeoman of the village of Bartar in the Ghazipur District, owning some six head of cattle, and employing two ploughmen. Some twenty years ago, his mother lay dying; and, calling him to her bed-side, she divulged to him that, in the corner of one of the apartments, were buried three brazen vessels, containing the savings of three generations. Lakman, as may well be imagined, lost no time in satisfying himself of the safety of the vessels, and added to them a fourth, to which, year after year, he entrusted all his savings. About the year 1886, there came an ebb in his fortunes. His only son, to whom he was fondly attached, died at the age of thirty. He himself grew old and feeble. His grandson was a dullard, and there were few savings to be buried. In October, 1888, an event happened which was fated to affect most deeply the fortunes of the simple villager. There arrived in the hamlet a young man, of short stature and fair complexion, dressed as a religious mendicant, and giving himself out as a priest from the famous temple of Juggernaut. In the morning or evening, the holy man would stroll into Lakmans' cottage, where he astonished everyone by refusing all refreshment, throwing out the mysterious suggestion that "he would accept just a handful of barley-meal when he should have performed some service for the family." Three days after his arrival, a second stranger, attired as a smart merchant, with a shaven head and what are described as "cocked moustaches," rushed up to Lakman's doorstep, eagerly asking after the mendicant, with whom he vaguely stated that he had "some business."

He gave his name as Ram Sahay Agarwala, and described himself as a trader of Ghazipur. The incident worked the village into a fever-heat of curiosity. Within the next few days, yielding reluctantly to the incessant questioning of the rustics, the trader began to take them into his confidence, narrating, to their astonishment that the seeming mendicant was a demi-god, who, by worshipping in their dwellings, could double their riches. Lakman did not yield to the temptation without a struggle. "My son is dead," he replied, with simple pathos, "what have I to hope for now?" "All your misfortunes," replied the ready trader, "arise from the weeping of a demon, who must at all risks be pacified." "But how?" asked the astonished villager. "O very easily," said the trader, "make over your wealth to the priest. He will bury it in the earth, and perform certain ceremonies over it. After a space, the earth will bring forth of her abundance. Your treasure will be restored, together with an equal amount. The demon will be gladdened and will disappear. You will be happy ever afterwards." "Why," he added, in a burst of confidence, "the holy man once prayed under my roof-tree. The earth was rent asunder like the Ganges, and a stream of golden coins poured into my dwelling." No device is too shallow to ensnare the greedy. Lakman's doubts were drowned in that "stream of golden coins." He consented to the experiment.

On the morning of the 18th October, the trader, followed by the priest, strolled into Lakman's cottage. They threw out mysterious suggestions, to the effect that Shiva was in their company; "but," as Lakman afterwards naively remarked, "I did not see him." At their request, Lakman unearthed the four brazen vessels, containing 2,800 Rupees, to which he added five gold-coins and a pair of ear-rings. Under the priest's direction, the trader dug a pit in the apartment with a sickle, and tied up the money and the ornaments in a piece of cloth, which Lakman had supplied. The trader fashioned, out of potter's clay, a rude mortar, in which he placed the bundle, covering the whole with plantain-leaves. The mortar was placed in the pit. At this point, Lakman was ordered to stand outside, and "worship the sun." On his return, after about twenty minutes' absence, he found the earth smoothed over the pit; and the priest and the trader, having locked up the apartment and handed him the keys, cautioned him, on pain of the instant death of his grandson, against opening the door, until they should have returned two days later. The trader added that, in his own case, his wife had attempted to open the room-door too early, with the result that her hands were burnt by a flash of mystic fire. They handed him some rice, with a pice and some betel-nut, which they directed him to bury in a

river, some two miles distant. On his return from this errand, he found that both priest and trader had departed. He waited in faith and patience. Two days elapsed. Still they did not return. He grew suspicious. On the third day, he summoned up courage. He unlocked the chamber. He dug for his treasure. He soon lighted on the mortar, with the cloth and the plantain-leaves. He opened it eagerly. To his horror and amazement, it contained, in place of treasure, a few cakes of cow-dung. In fact, as a native Magistrate afterwards quaintly expressed it, "the gold and silver was gone, but the earth had not brought forth of her abundance." The family was dumb-founded at the calamity. They could not understand how they could have been so blinded. The grandson, indeed, afterwards attempted, in the witness-box, to tender an explanation, which, as recorded by the native Magistrate, should not be consigned to oblivion. "I became a sheep," he pleaded, "and ate grass." "Why," he added, seemingly nettled by the doubts of his listeners, "I even *mewed*."

Hinauti is a sleepy little village in the adjoining District of Benares, within the circle of the Alinagar Police-station, close to the Railway line from Ghazipur Bisheshar Dyal, who was aged thirty-two, and belonged to the usually astute writer-caste, was a petty landowner in that village. On the morning of the 18th December, 1888, he was astonished by a visit from a priest of the temple of Juggernaut, who presented him with some rice, saying: "I have dreamed a dream, wherein it hath been revealed unto me that a treasure hath travelled under the earth, and hath even now tarried beneath thine abode. Unto thee do I bear this hest. One tenth of the treasure shalt thou carry unto Juggernaut. One tenth shalt thou bestow in largess unto friars. Yet, whatso remaineth, it is thine. Even now, keep thou an iron lamp burning with butter in the west of thine house." "Yet," added the priest in a mysterious whisper, "until thy treasure be raised, see that those and thine travel not west or south." The simple yokel kindled the lamp as directed. "Enough," said the priest, as he departed, "now must I seek out Ram Sahay Agrahri. For four days have I worshipped in his abode, to the end that a treasure be raised."

On the following morning, Ram Sahay, who described himself as a banker of Bishesharganj, dashed into the village, eagerly inquiring after the holy father, and throwing everyone into a fever of excitement. Under pressure of questions, he let slip the secret, with which the priest had entrusted him, that, shortly before sunrise in the night to follow, the god Shiva himself would appear at the ceremonies. After the banker's departure, the priest, about four in the afternoon,

appeared at Bisheshar Dyal's cottage, with the gladsome tidings that the treasure had arrived, and that he would "show them its face." Digging up the floor of the southern apartment, he disclosed a number of gold and silver coins, which appeared to be only portion of a far larger amount. He drew out a rupee and a gold-mohur, which he presented to Bisheshar Dyal, and then once more "covered up the face of the treasure." He then conducted him outside under a tree and placed in his hand some rice grains, with a copper-pice and a betel-nut. "Shortly before sunrise," said the holy father, "stand thou beneath this tree, calling Shiva ! Shiva ! Verily thou shalt behold the face of Shiva in a vision. He will appear unto thee in the form of a man, or of a bullock, or of a tiger." The villager carried out the instructions to the letter. After a long and anxious vigil, he saw, in answer to his call, a human form, in yellow garments, and with limbs rubbed over with ashes, appear under the shadow of the tree, and sit down before him. "Into thine abode," spake the god, "hath travelled a treasure. One tenth send thou unto the temple of Jugger-nauth. One tenth bestow thou in largess unto the friars. Yet, whatso remaineth, it is thine ?" With these words the apparition spread forth its hands, into which the villager, with holy awe, placed his offerings. "Away," cried the god, "yet see that thou turn not to gaze behind thee ?" So Bisheshar Dyal returned to his cottage, and the vision ended.

Meanwhile the banker repeated his visits. He declared that he too had been vouchsafed a vision of Shiva. At last, on the 21st December, in a rapture of gratitude, he declared to the gaping throng of villagers, that, in his own case, the prayers of the priest had succeeded, for, on that morning, the floor of his dwelling had been rent asunder, disclosing a treasure of Rs. 2,200 in jewels, besides Rs. 600 in cash, and 13 gold-mohurs.

The last doubts of Bisheshar Dyal had long since vanished. On the same day he agreed to the experiment. The priest and the banker impressed upon him, that he must bury all the money and the jewelry of his family by way of according the treasure a "proper reception." For, this purpose, Bisheshar Dyal handed over Rs. 565 worth of jewels and Rs. 195 in money to the banker, who washed it with water in his presence, and tied it up in a strip of white cloth. Bisheshar Dyal's two servants, Gopal and Ghuran, were in attendance. The priest led the way to the kitchen, where a pit was dug, under his direction, by Gopal. He then declared that he must be alone for his devotions. Bisheshar Dyal was sent off to bury a copper-pice and a betel-nut "one cubit below the surface" in the court-yard. Gopal was directed to borrow some flowers,

and Ghuran a conch-shell, both of which, of course, are essential to religious exercises. On Bisheshar Dyal's return, the priest met him alone and wished him joy of his good fortune. "As soon," he declared, "as the family jewels were buried, the treasure appeared." In fact, to Bisheshar Dyal's amazement and delight, the mouth of the pit was brimming over with jewelry. In reply to his question, the priest stated that the banker was "fetching some milk to cool the treasure," and, borrowing the door-key from Bisheshar Dyal, he locked up the apartment, promising to raise the treasure on the following morning, and begging him on no account to disturb it in the interim. "Nay, rather," said the priest at parting. "spend thou this night in prayer at the temple of Shiva." The villager counted out the hours of the night in his lonely vigil. Day broke; noon passed; the sun set. Still the priest did not return. At last, on the second day, the struggle between hope and fear was no longer to be endured. The villager opened the sacred chamber. There was the pit, still brimming over with jewelry; but his joy soon yielded to despair and fury, as, plunging his eager fingers into the pit, he found it to contain a heap of cow-dung, sprinkled over with a single layer of ornaments, that might be picked up for forty rupees at a country-fair.

The issue of the swindle sheds a curious sidelight on some of those features of the Eastern character which the Western finds it so difficult to understand. Bisheshar Dyal had been gulled out of his money, and he instantly abandoned every other pursuit in life for the single object of tracking down the swindlers and dragging them to justice. He laid an information at the local Police-station, but, trusting little to official inquiries where the recovery of money was concerned, he took up his staff, and wandered abroad like a knight-errant of old, in the hope of falling in with his enemies. It sounds so like a fable, that I hardly expect to be believed when I record the sober fact, that this wildest of hopes, so strangely at variance with the timid spirit of the writer-caste, was partly realised. Never flagging for an instant in his pursuit, he was travelling on a pony-trap, towards nightfall, on the 5th April, 1889, along the high-road from Koranta Dih to Rasra. On the way, he met a knot of nine men, engaged in a violent dispute. Like a flash of lightning, he distinguished the voice of the counterfeit banker. Without a moment's hesitation, he dashed in upon the speaker, and, regardless alike of his struggles and of his entreaties, he dragged him into the pony-trap, while the eight associates scattered like sheep in all directions. Before the luckless banker could fully realise his position, the pony was galloping into the Koranta Dih Police-station, where he

was made over to a crowd of constables and watchmen, fairly gaping with astonishment at this break in the mill-round of official duty.

The game was up. The "banker of Benares" was recognised as the "trader of Ghazipur." He admitted that his real name was Mehdi Pande, and that he had been in gaol for cheating. In 1886, he had been caught, at the village of Tari in the Benares District, swindling an old woman, named Gangya Kumharin, on the allegation that, if she allowed him to bury her jewels, he could double them by his prayers. Somehow or other, he managed to be acquitted in that proceeding. On the present facts, however, he was committed separately to the Ghazipur and to the Benares Sessions. At Ghazipur, he was sentenced, on the 29th July, 1889, by Mr. Fox, under section 420, Indian Penal Code, to three years' rigorous imprisonment. At Benares he was sentenced, on the 15th February, 1890, by Mr. Muir, under section 380, Indian Penal Code, to seven years' rigorous imprisonment, and to a fine of Rs. 500/-, or, in default, to a further term of one year's rigorous imprisonment. The "god Shiva," however, and "the priest from Juggernaut" have never to this day been discovered.

R. GREEVEN, C. S.

ART. IV.—THE INDIAN MINT CLOSING MEASURE: A SERIOUS BLUNDER.*

WHEN considering the subject of this article I had intended addressing myself chiefly to those who have accepted, as a fact, what I thought must be, by this time, patent to nearly every candid enquirer, that the divergence of value between gold and silver is due almost entirely to the appreciation of gold. But the more I read on the subject, the more plainly it appears that the original belief in the depreciation of silver still possesses the minds of the majority, and, to claim the appreciation of gold as generally accepted, would be to beg the question as far as most of my readers are concerned. I will, therefore, address myself at once to discover what those conditions are through which gold and silver have been passing of late years.

It will be clear that, if an appreciation of gold can be proved so great as to cover the divergence between the two metals, we shall be compelled to accept as a corollary the general stability of silver, which, in such a case, can have neither risen nor fallen; if again, we can prove the general stability and non-depreciation of silver, we must equally accept the appreciation of gold. Further, if we can show good *à priori* reasons why gold should have increased in value at the period during which we believe it to have increased, and if we can show equally good reasons why silver should have altered but little in value, we shall have arrived at a foundation of fact on the subject which nothing can disturb. I, therefore, propose to bring facts and figures to prove—

(1.) The appreciation of gold;

(2.) The stability of silver and its non-depreciation, and to present the causes which have made for these conditions.

First, then, for the appreciation of gold. I think I may consider the following as an economical axiom:—

The average value of a number of staple commodities, *unconnected one with another in conditions of production, supply and demand*, is a correct measure of the value of any one article by which the price of each and all is compared.

That, therefore, the average rise or fall of such commodities priced in gold is a correct measure of the fall or rise of gold.

This seems to me to be a self-evident fact, but I have seen its acceptance objected to, notably by a correspondent in the *Daily News*; it is clear, however, that the accuracy of such commodities as a measure of the standard by which they are valued is only a question of degree, and were the number available unlimited, the accuracy of the measure could be indefinitely increased.

* Written early in 1894.

The following tables with which Economists are acquainted give the measure we require. They give the gold prices of 46 staple commodities (including silver) for the last 27 years. The commodities have been valued separately, but classified under six heads; with a seventh for silver. The complete tables for fifty years are to be found in the Journals of the Statistical Society. They are by Mr. Sauerbeck.

The average prices of the ten years—1867-77—are taken as a standard of comparison, and are represented by the figure 100. To this standard the prices of each year can be compared. The grand total column, according to our axiom, gives the value of gold. Thus 100 will be its mean value; 111 will show it to have fallen 11 per cent; 68 to have risen 32 per cent. These numbers are termed "Index Numbers."

A full and clear explanation of these numbers is given in an essay, entitled "England's Foreign Trade in the Nineteenth Century," by Bowley, 1893. The writer says (p. 20):—

"A remarkable proof of the accuracy of Index numbers is obtained by examining the shipping statistics. . . . Hence these numbers, though necessarily founded on partial information, bear a close relation to the actual facts:—

Year.	Grand Total (Index Numbers for Gold.)	Silver.
1867	100	99.7
'68	99	99.6
'69	98	99.6
1870	96	99.6
'71	100	99.7
'72	109	99.2
'73	111	97.4
'74	102	95.8
'75	96	93.3
'76	95	86.7
'77	94	90.2
'78	87	86.4
'79	83	84.2
1880	88	85.9
'81	85	85.0
'82	84	84.9
'83	82	83.1
'84	76	83.3
'85	72	79.9
'86	69	74.6
'87	68	73.3
'88	70	70.4
'89	72	70.2
1890	72	70.2
'91	72	74.1
'92	68	65.4
'93	68	58.6

Up to June the figure is 62.8."

The stability of silver, that is, its remarkable agreement with the grand average of prices, is seen at a glance ; but I will not now dwell on this, as I wish separately to prove this point. That silver has not depreciated to any extent in the last twenty years is equally clear.

I have, in vain, tried to find any line of reasoning which invalidates the deductions to be drawn from these tables, and if their accuracy be accepted, we can but conclude that gold in 1873 fell 11 per cent. below our standard ; in 1887 it rose 32 per cent. above it, and that its highest appreciation since 1873 was 43 per cent. in 1887, at which it now stands.

As silver in terms of gold had, up to the mint closing date, fallen scarcely at any time more than 32 per cent., we conclude that the whole divergence between the two metals up to 1892 is due almost entirely to a rise in gold, and that silver has shown itself remarkably stable.

I now proceed to prove the second point, the stability and non-depreciation of silver.

Acting Consul-General Jamieson, dating from Shanghai the 5th August last, has furnished a report to the Foreign Office (Miscellaneous Series, No. 305), which, as it shows original thought, and is carefully compiled, is of weight, and, as giving the conclusions of a writer who is biased by no *a priori* desire to prove anything, is specially valuable to my argument. I cannot do better than extract verbatim from the Report :—

"China would seem to be peculiarly well situated for observing phenomena connected with changes in the value of the precious metals. There is a fair stock of gold and silver in the country. Neither is produced to any extent in the present day But there is perfect freedom of transport to and from foreign countries. There is no legislation in the country giving either metal preference over the other as a medium of exchange. By common consent silver is so used simply by weight as one commodity might be exchanged for another. . . .

"The Government of China has not been a borrower to any appreciable extent There has, therefore, been no disturbance of values by the sudden augmentation of the stock of the precious metals.

"Again all the conditions regarding mode and cost of production of commodities in the interior have remained unchanged. There has been no cheapening of production inasmuch as, for reasons before stated, the problems connected with the cost of production which complicate questions of this nature in Europe and even in India, are here absent, it would seem that this is a very favourable field for observing the effect on the fall in silver and prices generally."

So much as to the groundwork of our arguments. 'The writer continues :—

"I now come to the second of the questions I propose to discuss *viz* : . . . Whether the purchasing power of silver has varied with the varying exchange."

To demonstrate this, the author has compiled three tables, and these are his conclusions from them :—

(1) As regards articles both produced and consumed in China, silver prices have on the whole tended to decline.

(2) As regards articles of native origin exported to foreign countries, the silver price has not advanced with the fall in exchange. Prices on the whole are almost exactly on a level with the years 1870 to 1874.

(3) The third table shows a considerable fall in silver prices, that is a considerable appreciation of silver.

Consul Jamieson has plainly convinced himself of the general stability of silver and its non-depreciation.

The tables are given in full and can be consulted in loco. I need not insert them here ; but deduced from the first two tables I give below a series of silver index numbers :—

Table showing annual average prices in silver Taels of 38 staple commodities.

Year	Grand total of prices (Index numbers for Silver).
Average for five years.	
1870—74	100
'75	104
'76	111
'77	110
'78	98
'79	102
1880	102
'81	106
'82	99
'83	102
'84	94
'85	94
'86	103
'87	98
'88	99
'89	99
1890	103
'91	97
'92	100

Since 1878 the limit of appreciation and depreciation is shown to be but six per cent. respectively. Considering all that silver has gone through in the way of demonetisation and other trials in late years, its worth as a standard of value is remarkable. Failing words of my own to express this, I will borrow of Mr. Gladstone's splendid language in his speech on bimetallism in Parliament,

February 1893, while avoiding his grotesque inaccuracy. My readers will supply "silver" for "gold" and 12 for 3 per cent. :—

"Gold has stood and not varied more than about 3 per cent. I should say that is a very respectable case to make out for gold as a circulating medium. If under such pressure and agony of trial, the fluctuations of gold amounted to only a trifle, the position of gold as a standard of value is splendidly illustrated."

The close general agreement with silver prices in the gold tables is very noticeable. An exact numerical agreement, the tables having different standards of comparison, is not possible; but wherever a distinct rise or fall of silver prices takes place in the one table, corresponding changes are shown in the other; for instance 1875, 1876, 1877 for a fall; 1884, 1885 for a rise.*

If the figures and the arguments in favour of their weight are accepted, the conclusions as to the stability and non-depreciation of silver cannot be gainsaid. We are thus led by separate reasoning to our former conclusion, that the divergence in value between the two metals is due to an appreciation of gold.

I have frequently heard it urged that production has increased so greatly, that silver must have fallen considerably, and that no further reason need be sought for the divergence in value between itself and gold. The fallacy in this argument leads me naturally to my third point.

The argument is based on the simple economical law that increase or decrease of supply directly diminishes or increases value. The law holds good for commodities, such as wheat or coal, which are practically expended as soon as produced; but it is not true of imperishable articles, like gold or silver. The corresponding law for these is: Increase or decrease of supply diminishes or increases value in the ratio of the supply to the total stock.

For, supposing the supply of wheat to have been for some years 100 million bushels annually, but that in one year it rises to 200 million bushels, we might expect a fall of about 50 per cent. in the price of wheat for that year. But, supposing one million ounces of gold are annually produced till the available stock has reached 50 million ounces, and, in one year, the production rises to two million ounces, we should not expect a fall in the price of gold of more than about 2 per cent.

*Mr. Grenfell, in his article in the *Fortnightly Review* for September 1893, deduced a great appreciation of silver from Chinese prices. The tables he quotes give a fair view of the general direction of silver prices, but his figures give a too high appreciation. They are compiled from twenty commodities only, of which Tea is a very prominent article. Now Tea, we know, has suffered, owing to Indian competition, a great and real depreciation in recent years. This fact affects Mr. Grenfell's figures accordingly.

I will now apply this rule to actual facts. The following calculations are based on data supplied in the article "Money" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition. The figures are Soetbeer's; and from "Universal Bi-Metallism" by Rothwell, the figures up to 1882 being also Soetbeer's, and after that year they are taken from the Reports of the Director of the Mint (New York) and from Returns by United States refiners.

Let us limit our view to the conditions of gold and silver in the present century.

I wish *first* to note that I have considered the stock of each metal to begin accumulating from the year 1492, there being no trustworthy data before then; this will affect our results but little, the stocks of these metals being inconsiderable before that date.

Secondly, I wish to point out that my figures do not take into account any destruction of the metals, or their diversion into other channels than that of currency. But, though the absolute ratios will not be correct, the comparative ratios cannot be far from the truth; and further, of these two omissions, the errors of one tend to obliterate those of the other.

Table showing, in decennial periods, percentage of supply to stock for Gold and Silver from 1800 to 1890, and in one 2-year period 1891-92.

	1801/10.	1811 20.	1821/30.	1831/40.	1841/50.	1851/60.	1861/70.	1871/80.	1881/90.	1891/92.
Gold supply	5	3	4	5	12	44	28	20	15	3½
Silver supply	8	4	4	4	5	6	8	8	17	5

On looking at these tables we see at once an answer to those who assert that the greatly increased production of 1891-92 must have greatly depreciated silver; for the production is seen to be but $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum of the stock. This further gives a clue to the small effect of the passing or repealing of the Sherman Act, though directly affecting demand to the extent of 54 million ounces yearly.

We see from these figures that the highest increase in any ten years for gold was 44 per cent. of the stock, while that of silver was but 17 per cent; these calculations would, therefore, presuppose a considerably greater stability for silver than gold. While, however, they show no cause for any marked depreciation of silver since 1870, they account, since that year, for a small portion only of the rise in gold. But we know of

another economical factor which is as potent to affect values as supply, and that is demand. Let us see how this factor applies. Looking at the great and steady demand for silver in India and the East generally, and the continual use of it, though demonetised, in European countries, we may say that, as far as silver is concerned, demand cannot, to any extent, have affected values. But what is the case with gold ?

In and subsequent to 1873, Germany, the Netherlands and the Scandinavian Kingdoms adopted a single gold standard, and the countries of the Latin Union, virtually, did the same ; so great a demand as this implies, coinciding as it did with a diminished supply, easily accounts, to my mind, for the great appreciation that we believe to exist.

The production of gold was in 1878 185,847 kilos, steadily diminishing year by year to 1883, when the production was 144,727 kilos.

Here, then, we have an enormously increased demand and a steadily decreasing supply of gold, and yet, when we are told that gold has greatly appreciated in value, but few of us seem ready to recognise so natural a proposition.

I think, if my readers have accepted my reasonings so far, they will agree with me that everything points so clearly to a great appreciation of gold in late years, and to a general stability of silver, that, to refuse to accept these conclusions and to pursue our investigations into the laws which relate to gold and silver as if there were depreciation of silver only, will leave us floundering, as heretofore, in a sea of error.

I wish now to show how these conclusions, if just, affect India and the measures she has carried out, or is proposing to carry out to meet her difficulties.

In considering how India should deal with her difficulties we must first know what these difficulties are, or at least how they arise. To believe that they are at all connected with the price of silver will bring us, as it has already brought the Government, on to a road that leads nowhere.

The causes that have led India into financial troubles are simple. They are of common experience with individuals as well as nations :—

(1) Extraordinary expenditure.

(2) Borrowing and in a commodity of appreciating value.

The *first*, almost unavoidable, has been caused chiefly by India's need of strengthening her frontier and her military resources generally ; an expenditure that will in time recoup itself by increased security and corresponding prosperity.

The *second* cause, at least equally unavoidable, for it was foreseen by no one, was the great and rapid rise in gold, fixed amounts of which she has undertaken to pay for her loans.

The same cause has led to difficulties in Argentina, Mexico, and elsewhere.

The price of silver and the value of the rupee has had, up to the Mint closing date, nothing to do with India's financial difficulties. It would be as reasonable to say that the prices of wheat and other articles of India's wealth, which, in terms of gold, have fallen equally with silver, were responsible for these difficulties; such a statement, indeed, in so far as there are no silver mines in India and as the fruits of the earth are the ultimate sources of wealth, would be the more reasonable of the two.

On consideration, the above statement amounts to a truism; and yet Sir D. Barbour—who, in India at least, has, on this subject, led public opinion—is quoted in the report by Lord Herschell's Commission as saying:—

“The immediate cause of our financial difficulties, and the cause which, by comparison and for the time being, dwarfs all others, is the fall in the gold value of silver.”

And it is, unhappily, too true that the rise in gold and the power it has gained of exchanging for more of commodities generally and of silver in particular, translated as this fact is into a seeming fall in silver, has led those who guide India's destinies into the erroneous and pernicious belief that silver is the chief cause of her financial troubles, and has led them to devise schemes by which the rupee might be cajoled or jockeyed into taking a better position than by nature belonged to it. Hence such a short-sighted policy as closing the mints to free coinage, a scheme worthy of the days of Law and the very infancy of finance.

If India would grasp the fact that, in silver, she possesses a currency which for poor peoples is in no wise inferior to gold, and in invariability of value far superior; if she would aim at retaining the commanding position she holds in the silver-using world by fostering her currency, encouraging and not discouraging supply, increasing and not decreasing demand; if, above all, she would avoid interference with natural laws, she could look on with equanimity at European Governments struggling for gold in their dread of the supply falling short of their monetary needs.

Dismayed, however, at her great expenditure, at the increasing burden of the debts she has incurred; falsely estimating the consequences of possible action in America, at a time of panic; overwhelmed by the fancied pressure of evils that have no existence, she has yielded to the cries of ignorance, and, by her action, has, not only injured her many millions in the transactions of their daily life, but has even deprived them of a portion of their possessions. I imagine that no thoughtful

person, in the light of recent events, would attempt seriously to defend the Mint-closing measure, or pronounce it a wise scheme; yet the Government seems bent on maintaining it, to this end even laying an import duty on silver; a tax diametrically opposed to India's interests. How long will India fail to recognise that in her currency she has no source of weakness requiring unnatural remedies? How long will she be blind to the fact that, in silver, she has a standard of value and medium of exchange that, if honestly treated, will never fail her? How long will she nourish that extraordinary delusion that silver is responsible for her difficulties? Not for long, I do hope and believe; for, in her present frame of mind, there is a continual risk that some ill-judged interference with natural laws, some foolishly short-sighted policy will land her in difficulties as far-reaching and intricate as her empire is vast and complicated.

I wish to turn for a moment to the report of Lord Herschell's Committee. The first point one naturally looks to is, in what manner has the Committee dealt with the fundamental question of the true relations of gold and silver. One finds, incredible as it seems, that the Committee has not dealt with this question at all. Two, indeed, of the members made the remarkable statement, in a separate minute, that, in their opinion, whether gold has risen or silver fallen, "was not within the scope of their enquiry," as if it were practicable to legislate on a subject without fully understanding it. One alone, Mr. Courtney, expressed his misgivings on the point and wrote (the italics are mine):—"In our Report we have not examined this *preliminary question* whether a rise in gold or fall in silver were to-ward *but I hold it the first to be determined*," and further writes: "For reasons upon which I do not now enter, I have come to the conclusion that the divergence between gold and silver has been, *to a large extent, due to an appreciation of gold.*"

Considering the conclusions of the Committee and the apparent opinions of the majority, one is struck by the careful avoidance of the term "depreciation of silver." I cannot find that this precise term is once used throughout the Report, "depreciation of the silver currency" occurs once in para. 134, and the next nearest approach to this carefully-avoided term is "depreciated as silver is in the Western world," in itself a remarkable piece of no-sense. All this shows, I think, that, underlying the expressed opinions of the Committee, the conviction remained that there was, somehow, an impropriety in employing the term "depreciation of silver," although the *raison d'être* of the Committee rested on the fact that an intrinsic depreciation of silver existed.

There was nothing left, then, but a compromise, and in the

first few lines of the "Statement of the Question" we meet with the words "heavy fall in the gold value of silver." A little later Sir D. Barbour is quoted as using the same words. This was, no doubt, considered a very happy expression, it left a strong aroma of silver depreciation in the air, while it committed no one to a belief in its reality. But what can the term "fall in the gold value of silver" mean, except that it is a fall in reference to gold alone, and inferentially no fall at all in respect to the exchange value of commodities generally.

Words have much to account for in history, and "fall in the gold value of silver" must take its place with those that have led opinion astray.

I am not writing a detailed criticism of the Report. I could not presume to do so. I wish only to point out that, even in the opinions of those who, as a body, are pledged to the silver depreciation theory, one could obtain much internal evidence in favour of gold appreciation, and I further wish to note that it is curious how many of the questions that plainly vex the committee, solve themselves on the application of this latter term.

I cannot leave this subject without saying that I lay no claim to any novelty in my views, except in so far as it may be novel to urge a careful avoidance of ambiguous terms in this controversy; inasmuch as the possibility that rupee troubles were due to an appreciation of gold existed in the minds of the Indian Government as far back as 1876. In that year the Bengal Chamber of Commerce proposed to prohibit the free coinage of silver with a view to arrest the fall of the rupee; the Government of India in a Resolution in reply gave, considering the data then available, a masterly exposition of the conditions of gold and silver currency, showing, I think, a much clearer grasp of the situation than the Government of to-day. This Resolution is to be found in a Parliamentary Return, dated the 2nd of August last, and I commend it to those to whom the subject is interesting. In para. 19 of this Resolution we learn: "From a series of tables of prices in London and India, gold has risen in value since March 1873, and especially since last December," and "These conclusions appear to indicate a rise in the value of gold as at least one of the causes that has disturbed the equilibrium of the two metals."

Several interesting points have arisen in my mind while preparing this article. I have avoided notice of them *en route*, lest I should confuse myself and my readers.

I shall not, I think, be accused of climbing down from my position when I say that in the last two years, up to the Mint-closing date, silver seems to have fallen slightly in intrinsic value, about 4 or perhaps 5 per cent. We have seen that the

production of 1891 and 1892 increased the stock about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. yearly. This is a very large increase, and there was an anterior probability that it would diminish the value: the question remains what percentage of increase would balance loss, wear and tear of the commodity. As the production of the ten years—1881-90,—nearly reached 2 per cent. of the stock yearly without affecting value, and as a yearly production of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. did affect it, we may conclude that to balance loss an annual increase to the stock of about 2 per cent. is the limit.* Again what decrease in value will affect supply? Since the Mint closing date there has been a fall in value of about 15 per cent.† I read that out of 550 silver mines the working of 320 has been abandoned. If this be true, a depreciation of 15 per cent. has great and immediate effect on supply, and, this being so, we need never fear, unless circumstances greatly change, any considerable depreciation or any alteration in silver values comparable to those in gold.

An answer to the vexed question, why did gold and silver maintain their respective ratios from 1815 to 1873, has naturally arisen in my mind. This is one of the bulwarks of bimetallists, who point to the phenomenon as the effect of legal interference on the part of the Latin Union. Monometallists argue, with but little reason,—some (Sir John Lubbock for one), that it was not absolutely preserved; others (Mr. Giffen, I think, for one), that its preservation was more or less a coincidence.

It seems to me that the answer lies in the fact that the less desired of two metals held naturally a higher place than it legally received. If, in the early part of the century, 1 for gold and $15\frac{1}{2}$ for silver correctly estimated, as it no doubt did, the positions of the two metals, our table of ratios proves that down to 1840 no such quantities of gold or silver were produced as to alter these relative values to any appreciable extent; but in 1850 the enormous increase of gold must have considerably changed its position, and its natural ratio to silver must have fallen well below the legal. But no one will deny that, in spite of its fall, gold continued to be held in the greater estimation. It is then easily understood that an agreement tending to put gold rather than silver into creditors' pockets held its ground, for the force of public opinion would be in its favour. The influence of public opinion, however, had a directly opposite effect from the time when, owing to the German demand for gold, the na-

* From my somewhat rough data I find that 2 per cent. signifies a supply of $4\frac{1}{2}$ million kilos: now 1891 gave us $4\frac{1}{2}$ million kilos. and did not affect values, 1892 produced $5\frac{1}{2}$ million and did affect them. I doubt not that the supplies of 1893 and 1894 will be found to have shrunk to a 2 per cent. limit

† From figures kindly furnished me by Mr. Sauerbeck.

tural ratio of silver to gold fell below the legal, and the tendency grew to pay in the less desirable metal. From this moment the days of the Latin Union were numbered; the bond by which it held together snapped, and France for one passed a law by which she practically broke loose from the compact. It seems, then, that monometallists may concede that, as long as the less desirable of two metals which are used as currency, has a value intrinsically not less than it legally bears, so long will it be possible to maintain with them a form of bimetallism. Whether bimetallists would be grateful, or not, for the concession, is another matter.

If this view of the question be correct, it is clear that bimetallism, which so many hold to be the panacea for India's difficulties, would bring no relief, for bimetallism could only be maintained by fixing the position of silver in its relation to gold at or below its natural level.

Another point which naturally occurs when one is considering the question of gold and silver in relation to India is this: Granted that silver has not fallen, and that gold is answerable for the instability of the exchanges, would it yet not be well for India to assimilate her standard to that of England and thus avoid the uncertainty of rupee prices. I think the trouble this uncertainty causes is exaggerated, and yet, in spite of the fact that India would be exchanging a comparatively stable for an unstable measure of value, the gain in the assimilation of the standards would, no doubt, more than counterbalance the loss. As soon, therefore, as gold has become sufficiently plentiful to enable India to carry out the change easily and at little or no cost, the adoption of a gold currency, or rather a gold standard of value, should be gradually undertaken. To attempt to introduce a gold currency now would be of all measures perhaps the most suicidal. Personally I am convinced that the solution of every difficulty would be most perfectly met by the adoption, at a favourable opportunity by England, of a silver standard of value, but at present such a plan is Utopian.

This leads to the last of these questions: What likelihood is there of any considerable fall in gold coming to pass? I should reply that there is more than a likelihood, there is a practical certainty, that in the near future the prices of twenty years ago will rule again. A very few figures will suffice to support this statement.

In 1856/60 the average annual production of gold was 201,750 kilos. In 1866/70 the average was 195,000 kilos. In 1883 the lowest point of production was reached with an output of 144,700 kilos. Since that year production has steadily increased till 1892 gave us 196,200, while 1893 produced not less than 215,000. The production, then, of 1892

closely reached, and 1893 has passed, the highest average production of any five years. As soon as it is generally recognised that production will suffice for the currency needs of the world, the present tension must slacken, the struggle for gold cease, and prices, including that of silver will quickly rise. To South Africa we can look, confidently, for India's redemption, since its greatly increasing supplies of gold will rapidly diminish the burden of the cost of India's gold debts :—

*South Africa produced in {	1888 ...	230,189 oz.
	1889 ...	369,531 "
	1890 ...	494,810 "
	1891 ...	729,233 "
	1892 ...	1,210,865 "
	1893 ...	1,478,473 "
	1894 ...	2,000,000 " (Estimated.)

South Africa in 1893 doubled the output of 1891, and has almost trebled it in 1894; the Witwaterstrandt and De Kaap fields show no signs of decay, while Mashonaland and Matabeleland have their stores untouched. *The Statist* of the 20th January, 1894, had a suggestive article on the imminent rise in prices.

But even those to whom my arguments are as nought, and to whom the impending fall in gold is a chimera, have no excuse for despair, if they will consider the remarkable strength Indian revenues have shown in responding to the calls made on them. *The Times* not long ago had an interesting article on Indian affairs, in which it was shown that in the four years—1888/92—"the revenues, not only overtook the expenditure, but yielded an aggregate surplus exceeding 66 millions of rupees." Such a statement could have no reference to a country within any measurable distance of bankruptcy.

Still the fact remains that, for the moment, India is in a condition of financial difficulty, and, while her near future looks very bright, there is need—perhaps an urgent need—for measures to meet the situation. Failing further direct taxation, it is not easy to find a measure which would command general approval, but there are three at least, any one of which would meet the difficulty. They are—

- (1) Guarantee by England of future Indian loans,
- (2) Re-imposition of the cotton duties,
- (3) Sterling loans.

A former Indian Viceroy has told us lately how unfairly on India fall portions of the cost of the empire: this unfairness

* These are the figures for the "Randt" only. For all South Africa the total for 1893 is about 1,530,000 oz. and for other years in proportion.

has long been a source of irritation to India's sympathisers : with one stroke of the pen, at the cost only of her identifying herself more closely with India's interests, England could make ample atonement to her great dependency for the burdens she has caused it to bear, by guaranteeing all future Indian loans. But this plan, under the exigencies of party government, is also, I fear, Utopian.

Failing England's help here, India could, with the greater justice, obtain relief by a re-imposition of the cotton duties, and if this, too, is beyond her power to apply, she can borrow to tide over her difficulties. To any one convinced—as I am—of the imminent fall in gold, this plan greatly commends itself. The force of circumstances has already impelled India in this direction ; let us hope the same force may keep her on the right road ; and, indeed, I can conceive of no form of taxation however burdensome, no policy of retrenchment however retrograde, that would not be preferable to the plan India has adopted to meet her difficulties.

I cannot do better than conclude with a quotation from *The Statist* of the 27th January 1894. "But what are we to think of a great Government which deliberately—or at all events with professed deliberation—made up its mind to adopt a certain definite policy, and yet had never thought out what must be the inevitable consequences of that policy ?" *The Statist* finds the Indian Government guilty on what is, to my mind, the lesser count. One can overlook, or at least understand, a want of foresight, though no Government should be so lacking ; but is it within the limits of ordinary comprehension that a great Government, aided and abetted by a yet greater, should have intemperately led a revolution in the realms of currency without first making some effort to understand the conditions under which gold and silver held dominion in them. Should I have been deemed intemperate had I entitled this paper "The Indian Mint-closing Measure, a Monstrous Blunder ?"

E. FREDERICK MARRIOTT

ART. V.—THE INS AND OUTS OF BENGALI LIFE.

TO know a people thoroughly and accurately, we must have a clear insight into their inner as well as their outward life. In the former their character and disposition manifest themselves in their natural and unaffected light, as they are then off their guard and under less restraint. In the latter a certain degree of caution and formality are observed, presenting rather the apparent than the real side of character. To judge people, therefore, by observing how they conduct themselves in their social and public relations only, or in their domestic and private relations only, can lead only to an imperfect and one-sided estimate. Conduct in the one relation which may appear odd and unaccountable can be understood only by referring it to, and tracing its origin in conduct in the other relation. In order to obtain a complete view of life, its ins and outs should be observed. To a people like the Bengalis, among whom the *pardanashin* custom obtains, the foregoing observations are strictly applicable. Europeans, who have no opportunities of looking through the *parda* and studying their inner life, can form but a partial opinion as to the real character of the Bengalis. If to this disadvantage is added an unhappy frame of mind, looking down upon a conquered nation, it utterly disqualifies them from doing them justice by portraying them faithfully. This accounts for the serious blunders into which even some eminent English writers have fallen.

2. In order to arrive at a just conception of the private life of the Bengalis, it is necessary to have some knowledge of the nature of their marriage laws. With the Hindus the marriage tie is indissoluble. Marriage in Hindu Law is not merely a contract, but also a sacrament; and the rights and duties of the married parties are determined solely by that law, and are incapable of being varied by any agreement between them. As Manu emphatically declares, "Neither by sale nor desertion can a wife be released from her husband." Following the spirit of this rule, the High Court of Calcutta, in the case of Seetaram and Mussamat Aheeree Heeranee (20 W.R., 49) said :—

"It is contrary to the policy of the law to allow persons by a contract between themselves to avoid a marriage on the happening of any event they may think fit to fix upon." Though the Hindu Law does not allow divorce, it is not so unreasonable as to compel married parties to live together as man and wife under all possible circumstances. The question what constitutes legal cruelty sufficient to bar a claim for restitution of conjugal rights, has been very fully discussed by Mr. Justice Melvill in *Yamana Bai v. Narayan Marikvar Pendse* (1. L. R. 1. Bom. 164), and the conclusion arrived at is that the Hindu Law on the question of what is legal cruelty between man and wife, would not differ materially from the English law, that to constitute legal cruelty there must be actual

violence of such a character as to endanger personal health or safety, or there must be reasonable apprehension of it.

Conjugal infidelity in a wife would bar her claim for restitution of conjugal rights. The Hindu Law allows a disloyal wife to be forsaken.—Cotebrook's Digest, Book IV., pp 79, 80

This separation, called in Hindu Law desertion (*tyag*), differs from divorce as ordinarily understood in this,—that, however grave or permanent the cause of the desertion, and however solemnly and irrevocably it may take place, it can never have the effect of dissolving the marriage tie completely so long as both parties remain Hindus.—Manu, IX. 46.

A party who has renounced Hinduism is not entitled to enforce a claim for restitution of conjugal rights against a husband or wife who remains a Hindu. The Hindu Law allows one to forsake a degraded husband or a degraded wife, and degradation from caste is a natural consequence of apostacy. Act XXI of 1850 would not interfere with such desertion (25 W.R., 235). Act XXI of 1866 has made some important provisions for dissolution of marriage when either spouse becomes a convert to Christianity. It authorises the convert to sue his or her non-converted partner for conjugal society, and it gives the latter the option of agreeing or refusing to co-habit with the former; and, in the case of his or her refusal on the ground of change of religion, it directs the court to declare the marriage dissolved. After such declaration of dissolution of marriage, the wife, it seems, can have no claim for maintenance against her husband. The Act, however, on the whole, deals equally with both parties, and it contains the following important provision:—"When any decree dissolving a marriage shall have been passed under the provisions of the Act, it shall be lawful for the respective parties thereto to marry again as if the prior marriage had been dissolved by death, and the issue of any such marriage shall be legitimate, any Native law to the contrary notwithstanding." Section 19. Act XV of 1856 has legalised the marriage of Hindu widows. Section I runs thus:—"No marriage contracted between Hindus shall be invalid, and the issue of no such marriage shall be illegitimate, by reason of the woman having been previously married or betrothed to another person who was dead at the time of such marriage, any custom and any interpretation of Hindu Law to the contrary notwithstanding." This provision is perfectly in accord with the opinion of Parasara and the unerring dictates of humanity. Such being the case, it is greatly to be regretted that Hindu society should persist in observing the cruel custom of enforced widowhood.

3. With the exception of the cases provided for by Legislative enactments and Case-law, the Hindu marriage creates an indissoluble bond, which is a sound basis of abiding interest, strong affection, and religious culture of the married parties. The Hindu wife is called *সহধর্মিণী* i. e., a partner

with her husband in religious observances. পুত্রার্থে ক্রিয়তেভার্যঃ পুত্রঃ পিতৃ-প্রয়োজনঃ । The wife is sought for the procreation of a son, and a son is necessary for offering funeral cakes. পুত্রান্ন নরকং ত্রায়তে ইতি পুত্রঃ The son delivers the parents from a hell called *put*. From this it is evident that marriage, according to the Hindu Shashtra, is regarded as a sacred institution, conferring an equality of status on the wife with the husband, considering her necessary for the attainment of the noblest objects of life, and not for the purpose of mere carnal satisfaction, and enjoining upon the son a holy mission of attending to the spiritual welfare of his parents and perpetuating and honouring their names. A tie which is considered so sacred and strengthened by so many chords of domestic felicity, religious sanctity, and agreeable prospects, is seldom allowed to be sundered by caprices and whims, temporary inconveniences or untoward circumstances, difficult to avoid even in the most respectable families.

4. The basis of the Hindu social system is the Joint-family. It has its advantages as well as disadvantages. It is the natural outcome of a system of *parda* and *zenana*, and the charitable and affectionate disposition of the Hindus. Joint-families serve to maintain a number of idle mouths. The reasonableness of supporting the sick and infirm, women and children, cannot be called in question. The question is whether the maintenance of able-bodied men tends to encourage sloth and idleness. The relation of the earning member to the member supported must be known before it can be satisfactorily answered. If the latter is a father or other senior intimate relation who has educated and brought up the former, in that case the question of the policy of discouraging idleness does not arise at all. It is a question of the performance of a duty, which, whatever view Europeans may take of the Joint-family system, a Hindu considers paramount. A Hindu supports also a number of distant relatives and dependents. But, as the relief in such a case takes rather the shape of charity than compulsory family maintenance, it is desirable that, having regard to the interests of society and of dear and near relations, proper discretion should be exercised. The decay of many Hindu families is mainly traceable to the fact of the *kurta* or head of the family disabling himself from properly educating or making provision for his heirs in consequence of his having to support numerous drones, and hangers-on. He either blindly follows the example of his ancestors, or is too proud to plead his inability. To give free play to the charitable sentiments which evoke a large measure of kindness on one side and reverence on the other, is, no doubt,

highly commendable, but the claims of charity should be subordinate to the calls of duty. On the whole, balancing the advantages and disadvantages of the Hindu Joint-family system, the former will be found to outweigh the latter. "I am not blind," said Mr. Cotton, in a letter addressed to a native friend, "to the excellencies of your family organisation ; and desire to especially acknowledge the admirable domestic influence it exercises upon its members. As an Englishman, with my home in a country where the family tie is comparatively lightly regarded, and the members of a family tear themselves asunder as a matter of course and almost without compunction, and settle apart from one another in all the quarters of the globe, I cannot but appreciate the immense affective superiority of the organisation you enjoy. Properly speaking, it is only by the natural cultivation of the family affections that a man is able instinctively to call into existence dispositions calculated to fit him individually for public life. In your family arrangements you possess, therefore, through a process of progressive development, the necessary panoply of life, and I trust that the high recognition of the urgency of domestic sympathy will never be forgotten whatever may be the vicissitudes the Hindu Joint-family system is destined to experience."

5. With the Mahommedans, marriage is merely a civil contract. It confers no rights on either party over the property of the other. The husband may divorce his wife without assigning any reason, and have as many as four wives at one time. It is usual for Mahommedans, even of the lowest orders, to settle very large dowers on their wives. They are seldom exacted so long as the parties live harmoniously together ; but the whole dower is payable on divorce or other dissolution of marriage, and a large part of it is made exigible at any time, so that a wife is enabled to hold the dower *in terrorem* over her husband : and divorce and polygamy, though perfectly allowable by the law, are thus very much in the nature of luxuries which are confined to the rich. The principal incidents of marriage are the wife's rights to dower and maintenance, the husband's rights to conjugal intercourse and matrimonial restraint, the legitimacy of children conceived, not merely born, during the subsistence of the contract, and the mutual rights of the parties to share in the property of each other at death. The right of dower is opposed to that of conjugal intercourse, and the right to maintenance is opposed to that of matrimonial restraint. Hence a woman is not obliged to surrender her person until she has received payment of so much of her dower as is immediately exigible by the terms of the contract, and is not entitled to

maintenance, except while she submits herself to personal restraint.

6. Now what is the position of a woman in a poor Bengali family? No doubt she is kept under constant tutelage, first of her father, then of her husband, and lastly of her son. But is she treated as a slave or menial drudge? Certainly not. Her labour is a labour of love; she prefers the comfort and happiness of her parents, husband and children to her own. Self-denial, patient endurance, economy, simplicity, modesty, tenderness and sincere affection are the prominent features of her character. The household duties, which are principally done by the female members, consist of sprinkling, by the hand, a solution of cowdung and water on the open yard, which is next swept by a broom made of the stalks of palm trees; besmearing by means of a piece of rag with the said solution (which is a disinfectant) the mud floors and plinths of houses having mat or mud walls and thatched with straw or *golpatta*; covering the sunny sides of the walls with cowdung cakes used as fuel; husking paddy or other corn by means of the *dhenki*, or pedal; boiling paddy and drying it in the sun with a view to turning it into rice; scouring the brass or stone utensils, if any; removing the plantain leaves, or stitched *golpatta*, used, in the absence of plates, for taking meals; bringing water in earthen or brass pitchers from an adjacent tank or stream; cooking food, which consists mostly of rice, *dāl*, vegetables, curry and fish, and doing other necessary work. The women in the lower orders, such as Sontals, Bunwas, Hāris, Domes, &c., earn by serving as coolies. Their earnings go to contribute to the common expenses of the family, and in case the husband is an invalid, or the father too old to work, form the principal means of its support. But they willingly and ungrudgingly serve them, never claiming for themselves independent position. Although the lower class females are not *pardanishins*, they do not all work for gain. Some buy or sell provisions at the market, collect dry sticks in the jungle, or bring meals to the men labouring in the fields. Others seldom go out of the house except for the purpose of bathing in a neighbouring tank or river, or bringing water therefrom. Though they visit one another in their houses for friendly conversation, when they manage to snatch a few moments of leisure, now ere do so many of them meet together and talk on so many different subjects as at the bathing-ghats. As they do not know how to read and write, their gossip is mostly taken up with the details of household affairs. They keep themselves informed of the pettiest occurrence in their neighbour's house, and seldom hesitate to disclose the secrets of their own. Table-talk, which is so amusing and instructive to

Western nations, is not only not held, but on the contrary the parties are almost silent while sitting to dinner. The women take their meals after the men have finished, and often use, in their unclean state, the very plates or articles just used by the latter. With the exception of the Sontals, Bunwas, and other low-castes, the generality of the masses abstain from spirituous liquors. The only mild stimulant they indulge in—and this they do to their heart's content—is tobacco. On festive occasions the Sontals, Bunwas, &c., add to their mirth by dancing, singing and playing on the *tom-tom*, in which recreation both the sexes take part.

"The Sontal possesses a happy disposition, is hospitable to strangers, and social to a fault among his own people. Every occasion is seized upon for a feast, at which the absence of luxuries is compensated for by abundance of game and liquor from fermented rice. The Sontal treats the female members of his family with respect, allows them to join in festivals, and only marks his superiority by finishing his meal before his wife begins. The Sontal woman is modest but frank. Ignorant of the shrinking squeamishness of the Hindu female, she converses intelligently with strangers, and performs the rites of hospitality to her husband's guests. Her dance is slow and decorous. All the women join hands, form themselves into an arc of a circle, and advance and retire towards the centre, where the musicians are placed, at the same time moving slightly towards the right so as to complete the circle in about an hour."—*Hunter's Annals of Rural Bengal*.

7. Sympathy and a disposition to render neighbourly assistance form a prominent feature in the character of a Bengali. But the good effect of this very desirable quality is often marred by a rancorous spirit of vindictiveness, which is not unfrequently out of proportion to the wrongs suffered. The sight of two neighbouring women violently quarreling with each other is really shocking. They then give vent to their rage at the top of their voice in the vilest and most indecent epithets, each raking up scandalous anecdotes in her adversary's life or that of her relatives. The origin of such disputes is often very trifling, but as neither party is the least disposed to suffer herself to be defeated by the other, they become hotter and hotter until they end in violent abuse. Then it is difficult to believe, that they are the modest and peaceful creatures they usually are. Fortunately such quarrels (taking place among the lower orders) are few and far between, and the bitter feeling does not last long. In a day or two they are friends again. But if the men take part in such quarrels (which they seldom do), the matter becomes serious and has often to be settled in the courts.

8. Chastity is held in such high esteem by the Bengali that, when his wife is suspected or caught in adulterous intercourse, he becomes so enraged and furious as to endanger his life by a murderous assault on his wife and her paramour. Fortunately such cases are of rare occurrence, and the woman seldom sins,

but is rather sinned against—often a victim of seduction, but rarely a wilful offender. Her foolishness and want of tact often cost her her life, or make her incur the displeasure of her husband. For instance, the husband, being exhausted and fatigued with the hard labour of the day, returns home, and, not finding the dinner ready, or noticing her negligence in some item of the long list of her duties, asks her angrily to explain her conduct, or scolds her. A prudent woman, under such circumstances, would reply in the mildest language possible, and try her best to pacify and soothe him, remembering that he is fatigued and hungry. But it often happens that the wife, presuming too much upon her husband's indulgence, and, wondering that, instead of appreciating her services, he is given to scolding and harsh treatment, answers him petulantly and insolently, and gets a beating or flogging, which, on further altercation and mutual recrimination, often ends fatally. The foregoing authentic description finds corroboration in the history of the criminal cases decided by the Indian courts. Both the husband and wife, under such circumstances, are deserving of great pity. They may have passed the greater part of their lives in love and harmony, may have been parents of a troop of children depending for their maintenance on the fruits of their labour; but in an evil hour, for want of a little self-restraint, or prudent consideration, they bring inevitable ruin on themselves and their family. Both are the victims of misunderstanding; each thinking that the other is to blame, each concludes that there is reasonable ground of complaint against the supposed inhuman and unkind conduct of the other. If they had education enough to understand the imperative necessity of weighing motives and thinking before acting, and not acting from sudden impulses and the heat of the moment, they might have averted many disasters. It will appear on minute examination that most of the crimes affecting the human body, committed by the masses in our country, are traceable to their thoughtlessness and impulsiveness, and not to habitual cruelty or depravity of the heart. With the exception of such occasional unfortunate occurrences, the domestic life of the Bengali passes smoothly.

"The domestic life of the Hindu is, indeed, in itself, not more immoral than that of a European home. Far from it; there is so much misconception on this point, that it is desirable to state what the facts actually are. The affection of Hindus for the various members of the family group is a praiseworthy and distinctive feature of national character, evinced, not in sentiment only, but in practical manifestations of enduring charity; the devotion of a parent to a child, and of children to parents, is most touching. The normal social relations of a Hindu family, knit together by ties of affection, rigid in chastity, and controlled by the public opinion of neighbouring elders and caste, command our admiration, and, in many respects, afford an example we should do well to follow."—*Cotton's "New India."*

The wants of the poor Bengali are few, and his desires are limited, and he remains contented if such wants are supplied and such desires are satisfied. A few plots of land to raise crops upon, a few cattle and poultry, and an humble shed to live in, generally constitute his worldly possessions.

"For him 'hard' labour spread her 'scanty' store
Just gave what life required, but gave no more.
His best companions, innocence and health;
And his best riches, ignorance of wealth."

The rustic Bengali usually dresses himself very simply, wrapping round his waist a *dhuti* reaching a little below the knee, with one end folded and fixed below the back and the other sometimes made to encircle the waist with a knot and sometimes allowed to dangle in plaits. He has his *gamcha*, or bathing-towel, which he puts on whilst his *dhuti* is drying. On holy-day occasions the luxury of shoes, shirt, *chadur* or coat, &c., is indulged in. The women put on a *sari* or *dhuti*, which very economically and elegantly does the duty of a pantaloon, a gown, and head-dress. Considering that the Hindus bathe almost every day throughout the year, and every day wash their cloths in water, it is not too much to say that in this respect they are the cleanliest people in the world.

9. But neither the Hindu nor the Mahomedan village community appears to have any advanced ideas of sanitation. Noxious vegetation, ill-ventilated houses, with damp floors, surrounded by thick jungle or clusters of trees, dirty ponds or sheets of water filled with the material of vegetable decomposition, or other putrid substance, narrow lanes or bye-paths, almost ankle-deep in dust or mud, accumulations of rubbish, or other fetid matter on the house premises, &c, generally disfigure village sites, making them the hot-beds of cholera, malarious fever, and other mortal diseases. The insanitary condition of the rural tracts is due to two principal causes:—the poverty of the people and their fatalism. Any scheme for the improvement of rural sanitation by means of additional taxation is destined to be a failure. The only measure likely to be beneficial at present seems to be the enlargement of the powers of Local Boards having at their disposal sufficient funds to be spent on sanitation and a supply of good drinking water.

To return to the habits and condition of the lower class females. Their principal property consists of their ornaments, of which they are very fond. Owing to the poverty of the masses, their trinkets and gewgaws are not worth much. But some of them, by means of gifts from their relatives and by a rigid economy, manage to possess jewellery, usually carried on their persons, of a value much above their condition. These

constitute their *Stridhun*, or peculium, to which they have absolute right, and which they never allow to be used for meeting the ordinary expenses of the family, except in extreme cases. These are delusive signs of the prosperity of the Bengali family, which mostly suffers from chill penury, finding it difficult to keep body and soul together. Besides the pleasure of personal use, the principal motive which actuates a woman in securing this jewellery in spite of privation, is to make some provision for her heirs, charged with the cost of performing her *Sradh* ceremony, omission of which is considered the greatest calamity to a Hindu. In order to raise money for temporary purposes, she sometimes pawns some of her ornaments to a neighbouring rich lady, and the fairness of their dealing is proved by the fact of their very rarely having occasion to have recourse to the Courts for the purpose of settling their mutual claims. So long as a female remains attached to a family as one of its members, entrusted with its internal management, she is kind and considerate in her behaviour towards her kith and kin, economical and prudent in her habits, and fair in her dealings with outsiders. But, as soon as circumstances compel her to serve in a menial capacity, such as a maid-servant or cook, she generally contracts bad habits, deceiving her master by petty peculations in market purchases, and often becomes subject to failings difficult to escape from in her dependent position. There are other classes who may be called the poor gentry, whose family prestige does not allow them to serve as menial servants, and who consequently suffer silently and uncomplainingly extreme hardships under exceptional circumstances.

"The Bengali bears existence with a composure that neither accident nor chance can ruffle. He becomes silently rich or uncomplainingly poor. The emotional part of his nature is in strict subjection, his resentment enduring but unspoken; his gratitude of the sort that silently descends from generation to generation. The passion for privacy reaches its climax in the domestic relations. An outer apartment in even the humblest households is set apart for strangers and the transaction of business, but everything behind it is a mystery. The most intimate friend does not venture to make those commonplace kindly enquiries about a neighbour's wife, or daughter, which European courtesy demands from mere acquaintance. The family privacy is maintained at any price. During the famine of 1866 it was found impossible to render public charity available to the female members of the respectable classes, and many a rural household starved slowly to death without uttering a complaint or making a sign."—*Hunters' Annals of Rural Bengal.*"

10. The position of female members of the educated and upper ranks of Bengali society is ladylike and respectable. The mother, and in her absence the wife, is the mistress of the family, superintending the household affairs within the zenana, usually done by cooks and maid-servants. They prefer to live in privacy and seclusion, not liking to expose themselves to the rude gaze of the public. This is effectually

prevented on occasions of travel by the usual veil, which is a beautiful emblem of modesty. From the time of marriage and attainment of the age of puberty till she gives birth to a child, a female remains completely covered with a veil. Then it becomes shorter and shorter, and is taken off the face when she becomes an elderly matron, but is not entirely withdrawn. She wears a veil, not only outside the zenana, but inside it also. In the presence of her husband's elder brother she is not to appear unveiled, or to speak with him except through a medium. A female sometimes resides in her father-in-law's and sometimes in her father's house. While with her parents she is not required to put on a veil within the zenana, except when her husband visits the house, whom, in her prime of youth, she is not to meet unveiled, or speak to in the presence of elderly relations. The Hindu family being joint, the wife is seldom left in the solitary company of her husband, but lives surrounded by a good many relatives. She is to observe minutely the customary rules prescribing her behaviour towards them. A slight violation of such rules is sure to be noticed especially by her mother-in-law and her husband's sisters, with whom she is often found to fall out. But the chief troubles of a Hindu lady commence with her widowhood. Then she is compelled to lead a life of austerity and self-denial. She is not permitted to marry again, even though her husband dies before she attains puberty. She is allowed only one full meal a day, which, again, is of the plainest sort, fish and stimulant articles being prohibited. Her widowhood disqualifies her from taking any active part in such auspicious ceremonies as Annaprashana, Upanayana, marriage, &c. This is adding insult to injury. It is time that this cruel and inhuman custom should be discontinued.

11. The usual monotonous and smooth home life of a Hindu is relieved not only by the ceremonies alluded to above, but by *Poojahs*, the principal of which is the *Dootga Poojah*. This is the grandest annual Hindu religious festival, similar to the Mohorrum of the Mahommedans. It lasts three days in Ashin or Kartik; the *Vashan*, or the ceremony of immersion of the image in water, taking place on the fourth day, when, for a few days following, friends and acquaintances, happening to meet together, generally embrace one another. The courts and other offices being closed, the people make a very merry time of it. They dress themselves in their best, holding a sort of conversation. The poor are relieved and fed, and the rich entertained with sumptuous banquets, *jatras* or musical performances, and various sorts of diversions. The *Poojah*, which is considerably on the decline on account of the spread of English education, may not be desirable on grounds of eco-

nomny, but its usefulness in calling forth religious enthusiasm in the heart of a genuine Hindu, and in creating a strong and sacred bond of national unity, cannot be overestimated. There cannot be a Hindu family without its religion: religion being interwoven with social manners and customs. What is really worshipped is not the image in mud sculpture, but the attributes of the Deity conceived through the medium of the image. And this periodical public acknowledgment of the Creator by the Hindus appears to contrast favourably with the absorbing secularism and gross materialism of Western civilization.

12. The Mohorrum is an annual commemoration of the death of Hasan and Husain, the descendants of Mahommed the Prophet. Hasan was poisoned to death, and Husain died while fighting with his followers against Yazid, a rival Khalifa. It is celebrated every year for ten days, during which the Mahommedan community are wrought up to the highest pitch of religious enthusiasm, offering up fervently their prayers to the *Allah*, reciting the history of the melancholy end of their religious martyrs, relieving and feeding the poor, and holding religious processions on the seventh, ninth, and tenth days with elephants and horses caparisoned amidst two rows of flags, colored with beautiful designs and sacred texts from the *Koran*, carrying with them, on the tenth, both night and day, the *Tasia* (the representation of the tomb of Hasan and Husain), and beating their breasts with incessant utterance of Hasan-Husain-Hasan-Husain. The sight is really pathetic, and cannot fail to call forth feelings of religious admiration and awe even in other religionists, when it is seriously contemplated how potent and lasting is the influence of religion on men's minds, and what tremendous self-sacrifices and physical discomforts they can subject themselves to for religious considerations.

13. To return to the position of Bengali ladies. As *parda-nishins* they enjoy a not inconsiderable amount of liberty, which they have sufficient good sense and intelligence not to convert into licence. The high moral lessons of the Mahabharata, Bhagavat Gita, and other didactic national legends, the lives of Sita, Sabitri, Damaianti, &c., who are models of purity and chastity, the frequent religious ceremonies and observances in the family, their high patrician spirit in up-holding the time-honoured reputation and dignity of the family they are born in, or married into, and the virtuous principles resulting from these various influences, guard their morals more effectively than the walls which confine them. Nor is the beauty of their persons less conspicuous than the excellence of their souls.

"In Bengal the sixteenth year of a young lady is thought to be the sweetest and most charming. Some of them are very handsome in their features, and their complexion is like the whiteness of milk mixed with the redness of lac, a color which most Bengalis prefer to the snowy whiteness of the European."—*Lal Behari Dey's "Bengal Peasant Life."*

The beauty of the ladies of some of the aristocratic families in Calcutta was highly appreciated and admired by His Highness the Prince of Wales while visiting India. Elegantly dressed and adorned with rich jewellery from head to foot, having their hair parted and adjusted handsomely, and the toes and sides of their feet painted red with lac dye, they look beautiful, like the goddess *Durga*. It is highly desirable that, like their persons, their minds should be beautified with the rich treasures of knowledge, for no beauty is comparable to the beauty of the mind. No doubt some of them have acquired a fair knowledge of Bengali, such as to enable them to compose books and contribute to periodicals, but we cannot conceal the fact that female education in Bengal has been sadly neglected. The number of the ladies, mostly native education Christian and Brahma, who have received high education and become graduates, serving as doctors, teachers, inspectresses of schools, &c, is very small. They have thrown off the *parda* and adopted habits partly native and partly European, but they are no worse for that. Their superior education, and consequent strength of mind, serve to make amends for the loss of the advantages enjoyed by *parda-nishin* ladies. But the example of the former is not likely to be followed by the latter for some time to come, until the advantages of female education and the necessity of finding suitable employment for them are thoroughly appreciated by the generality of our countrymen. Native gentlemen returning from England, and serving as Civilians, Barristers, Professors, &c, have adopted the European style of living, according to the female members of their family the status of ladies, and treating them as such. Some of the conservative portion of our countrymen charge them with denationalising habits, tending to estrange them from their fellow-countrymen. But does not experience show that they stand up for our rights and privileges; that they are better able to preserve or enlarge them, and that some of them have made noble self-sacrifices to serve their country's cause? Being brought up in Western ideas of civilisation, and having to move in high European circles, their costumes and habits quite befit their position. What idea should we entertain of a native Judge of the High Court occupying the judgment seat by the side of his European colleague in *dhuti* and *slippers*? The heart and not the outward behaviour is the real test by which to judge a man; and when we find the heart of these enlightened gentlemen earnestly bent upon promoting our welfare, we

should be prepared to recognise their patriotic services and overcome our prejudices against their adoption of foreign manners.

14. Bengali society is divided into numerous classes, each class generally pursuing a different occupation or calling. Among the Mahommedans, as with the Europeans, the nature of a man's occupation does not create caste distinctions. No doubt wealth confers respectability, but there is nothing to prevent a rich Mahommedan merchant from intermarrying, or dining, with a petty Mahommedan trader. Such is not the case with the Hindu castes. Not only the primary castes, Brahmans and Sudras, but the endless sub-divisions of the latter, on account of their following different avocations, stand aloof from each other in social intercourse. Weavers, potters, blacksmiths, carpenters, oilmen, washermen, barbers, etc., are so many sub-castes. Certainly it stands to reason that there should not be intermarriage among them so long as they stick to their respective professions. But it sometimes happens that some member of one of these classes, having received the advantages of English education, is a high Government official, or a member of the learned professions. In that case, not only he himself, but the other members of his family, give up the hereditary calling. According to modern civilised notions of etiquette and respectability, he is a gentleman, while his caste people are common labourers and workmen. The social problem which presents itself for solution is whether, having regard to the interests of society, the existing custom requiring this gentleman to continue to associate socially with his tribe, or clan, should be rigidly followed, or there should be a departure from it, allowing him to obtain the social status of a higher circle to which he has entitled himself by his education and culture? On the one hand, no pursuit of business, so long as it is an honest means of gaining a livelihood, should be considered ignoble; on the other hand, the progress of society will remain stationary, or be retarded, if its advanced members are compelled to move in the narrow groove of their unenlightened circle, and denied the genial influence of social intercourse with men of their peers. Considering the *pros* and *cons* of the question, the only conclusion which appears to us satisfactory is this—that intellectual and moral culture, and not professional occupation, which is ceasing to be the hereditary and exclusive pursuit of a particular class, should be the standard of caste distinction.

15. But it is not so much the social as the economic results of the caste-system which are injurious:—

"Accustomed to look upon toil as a work of slavery, the Hindus (of the high castes) have never worked more than was necessary to supply their wants.

Capital, therefore, the surplus of production above consumption, has never existed; and in the absence of capital, any high advance in material civilisation is impossible. Another element of such an advance, co-operation, has been equally unknown. Division of labour in its literal sense, of giving to every man a separate employment, has indeed been carried to its utmost length; but the division of labour in its economical signification as a method of co-operation has been rendered impossible by the contempt which divides man from man. On this subject false appearances, and inaccurate names for these appearances, have led many writers into error. Division of labour as a term of Political Economy, means a division of processes in order to an ultimate combination of results. Division of labour as practicable of Indian art or manufacture, means a division of results (each man being able to do only one thing), effected by a combination of processes (each man performing the whole of the processes requisite to produce the single result).—*Hunter's "Annals of Rural Bengal,"* vol. 1, p. 138.

16. As if caste distinction were not enough to divide society, even the same caste people, mostly Hindu villagers, are divided by *dalladoli*, or faction. If a villager violates any religious, or social custom, and the whole rural Hindu community agree in thinking that his act amounts to an uncompromising repudiation of such custom on a very important point, he is excommunicated, *i. e.*, intermarriage and dining with his caste people are prohibited. Washermen and barbers would refuse to serve him. If there is a difference of opinion as to the propriety of his conduct, his supporters and opponents form themselves into two opposite parties, who cease to dine with each other. Such is the reverence paid to custom, and the vigorous measures generally adopted to preserve it intact!

There are not only accidental, but permanent, causes of social division among the same caste people. For instance, the Brahmans are either Rari or Varendra, according as they are descended from the original settlers on the West or East side of the Ganges. Koolin or Suritriya, the former belonging to the fraternity of noble Brahmans, created by Ballal Sen, the last Hindu sovereign of Bengal, the latter not belonging to that fraternity. About 900 A. D. King Adisur of Gour, wishing to perform sacrifices for which the Brahmans of Lower Bengal were not competent, brought five Brahmans from Kanauj. According to the purity of their descent from these emigrants and the places of their settlements, their descendants were called Rari or Varendra. The rival claims of the old and new settlers soon became a source of national disquiet, and two centuries afterwards Ballal Sen found it necessary to settle questions of precedence by a comprehensive classification of his Aryan subjects. Several mixed castes were derived from the followers of the Kanauj Brahmans, such as Kayasthas. Koolinism, which at one time proved to be a prolific source of scandalous polygamy, pecuniary exaction, and wretchedness of Koolin wives (many of whom, having 80 or 100 co-wives, could seldom see their husbands after marriage), has left its

injurious traces only in so far as it relates to the extraordinarily high fees leviable on behalf of a Koolin bridegroom. As the high qualifications which constitute a title to Koolinism are now seldom possessed by the descendants of the ancient houses of nobility, society should see its way to remodelling the system with a view to prevent its abuse.

17. Now a point for an interesting enquiry is—Do the Bengali societies, divided by social and caste distinctions, *dalladoli*, or party faction, and nice claims of noble descent, really form a compact nation possessing the necessary elements of national unity for political purpose? Sir William Hunter thus disposes of the question in his “Annals of Rural Bengal :”—

“The Indo-Aryans have paid a heavy penalty for debasing the humbler children of the soil by that stagnation and incapability of national advancement which has formed the most conspicuous difference between them and other families of the same noble stock. They refused to share their light with the people who dwelt in darkness, and for ages any further illumination has been denied to them. For seven centuries has Providence humbled the disdainful spirit of Hinduism beneath the heel of barbarian invaders, grinding together all classes of people as upon the nether mill-stone, and slowly bringing on the time foretold in the Sanscrit Book of the Future, when the Indian people shall be of one caste and form one nation. That this time is not now far off, no one who is acquainted with the Bengalis of the present day will doubt. They have about them the capabilities of a noble people. What they want is social amalgamation, to be effected, not as the Sanscrit Prophet predicts, by the universal corruption of the Indian races, but as the Christian devoutly hopes, by their universal regeneration.”

A careful insight into Bengali society cannot fail to disclose real homogeneity amidst apparent heterogeneousness. It is erroneous to believe that the Indo-Aryans treated the Sudras after the manner of Russian serfs, Greek helots, or Roman plebeians. They were regarded more as children and dependents, than slaves or conquered people. There was not that feeling of humiliation and self-debasement under foreign yoke, on the one hand, and haughty, domineering and insulting deportment, on the other, that are generally observed in the relations between natives and Anglo-Indians. The principal duty of Hindu kings was to please their subjects and consult their real interests. They were looked up to as the natural leaders and rulers of mankind, and their authority was supported more by moral and spiritual than by animal force. Their easy subjugation by marauding and plundering barbarians was not due to the discontent of their subjects, or want of social amalgamation, but to their apathy and indifference to material prosperity and self-aggrandizement, their heart being more bent upon securing a place in heaven, than upon consolidating an empire on earth. But whatever may have been the state of things in ancient times, it is evident that the Hindu castes, as they stand at present, are drawn towards one another by ties of sympathy and common religion. “The system of caste,” says

Mr. Cotton, "far from being the source of all the troubles which can be traced in Hindu society, has rendered the most important services in the past, and still continues to sustain order and solidarity. The admirable order of Hinduism is too valuable to be rashly sacrificed before the Moloch of progress. Better is order without progress, if that were possible, than progress with disorder." The agitation in connection with the Consent Act has shown that caste distinctions do not stand in the way of the Hindus uniting for the defence of their religious rights. The history of the Indian Nation at Congress goes to show satisfactorily that, despite caste distinctions and wide differences of race and creed, the Bengalis can unite nationally and constitutionally for the enforcement of their political rights. And as they have the privilege of living under an enlightened and liberal Government, whose declared policy is to mete out even-handed justice to all its subjects, without distinction of creed, caste, or colour, want of social amalgamation (which means nothing more than absence of inter-marriage and inter-dining) does not disqualify the educated Bengalis from representing their countrymen in the Legislative Councils, local self-government, or administrative efficiency.

18. But neither social amalgamation nor political training is of any avail, unless the nation practises honesty and fair dealing. Both individual and national advancement underlies the golden motto, "Honesty is the best principle." As litigation forms a large part of the business of the people, it is necessary to enquire how far it has affected their character, and whether it is a result of their habits or a necessary institution, on account of their large connection with landed property. Some Europeans have characterised the Bengalis as a highly litigious nation. This groundless charge has been so ably met by Sir William Hunter in his "Annals of Rural Bengal" that we make no apology to the reader for quoting him once more :—

"I am tempted to advert for a moment to a charge brought against the native character by two learned historians, who have written eloquently about the Bengali without any personal acquaintance with Rural Bengal. Mr. Mill and Lord Macaulay have painted the Indian husbandman as a very litigious, slippery fellow; the former gentleman having never set foot on Indian soil, the latter with such materials before him as come in the way of a Calcutta official. The statistics of rural litigation in England afford no ground of comparison; for in England only a small section of the community has any rights connected with the soil, and the litigations to which such rights give rise are proportionately few. In Bengal, on the other hand, at least five-sixths of the population have some connection with land, and are liable to the disputes which naturally spring from it. The population of Bengal is about thirty-five millions; the total number of civil suits during the year (1864) was 134,393, giving a suit to every 260 inhabitants; so that, assuming the average duration of existence to be thirty-five years, six out of every seven of the Bengali people pass through life without anything to do with the Civil Courts. That the litigation is beneficial is proved by the fact that out of 118,559 original suits, 77,979 were decided in favour of the plaintiff, besides the vast number which

were not prosecuted to judgment in consequence of the defendant privately yielding the claim to save further expenses. The habitual enforcement of civil rights is the best possible training for the temperate use of political privileges; and the trust which the natives of India have learned to repose in our judicial system, contrasts strongly with the period—scarcely seventy-five years ago—during which one in every sixty thousand inhabitants annually ventured to ask the aid of the courts, and only one in a hundred thousand annually obtained it."

19. But for some reasons litigation has not proved as beneficial as might be desired. In the first place, it is very expensive. In some cases the expenses of litigation exceed the value of, or swallow up, the property in dispute. But the parties carry it on out of mere *zid*. It is well known that there is a large annual surplus on account of the civil administration of justice. May not a portion of this be applied in the reduction of the stamp duty leviable on plaints? Practically, justice often turns out to be a sort of marketable commodity, being generally obtained by the party who can fee the best advocate, make good *tadbir*, and hold out the longest. The cumbrous character of the tardy and expensive trial of title suits makes it undesirable for parties to institute them in the first instance, until all the remedies provided for by summary and Small Cause Court procedure have been exhausted. Such bootless skirmishes disable them from fighting successfully in the title suit which can alone settle their rights finally. Cases are frequently postponed and it often happens that a party who has produced his witnesses a dozen times, and kept them ready for examination fails to produce important witnesses just at the time when the court finds it convenient to take up his case. The court, again, having to offer explanation in the event of a case standing over for more than six months, often rejects applications for postponement under such circumstances, thereby causing miscarriage of justice. Then, again, the courts are infested by a set of touters, or petty-foggers, who corrupt the very fountain of justice by distorting the facts of evidence and by other nefarious practices, which, despite stringent penal provisions, these detestable pests carry on with impunity.

20. In the ordinary transactions of business the Bengali is not flagrantly unfair. He is, no doubt, fond of haggling in entering into bargains, but the practice does not indicate a constitutional disposition to deceive, but simply an attempt at cleverness in the management of business. Both the parties to a contract know each other, and the bargain, in nine cases out of ten, is struck fairly in the long run. There may be a few sharpers and swindlers, but their dishonourable conduct no more reflects discredit upon the general fair character of the Bengalis, than the unscrupulous conduct of some Anglo-Indians tells against the honour of the English nation. That the educated Bengalis possess intellectual capa-

cities and moral virtues of a high order is amply proved by their honourable and distinguished career as able and honest members of the learned professions, learned and patriotic editors and authors, thoroughly competent and conscientious public servants, and energetic and independent members of self-governing institutions. The superiority of the natives of the country in administering law and justice to their own people is a fact that cannot be seriously disputed. No authority on the subject could be higher than that of the late Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Selborne, who on a certain occasion spoke as follows from his place in Parliament :—

"My Lords, for some years I practised in Indian cases before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and during those years there were few cases of any imperial importance in which I was not concerned. I had considerable opportunities of observing the manner in which, in civil cases, the native Judges did their duty, and I have no hesitation in saying—and I know this was also the opinion of the Judges during that time—that the judgments of the native Judges bore most favourable comparison, as a general rule, with the judgments of English Judges. I should be sorry to say anything in disparagement of English Judges, who, as a class, are most anxious carefully to discharge their duty; but I repeat that I have no hesitation in saying that in every instance, in respect of integrity, of learning, of knowledge, of the soundness and satisfactory character of the judgment arrived at, the native judgments were quite as good as those of English Judges."

A few words on the despatch of the Secretary of State, disallowing the Simultaneous Examination scheme, may not be out of place here. His decision is highly disappointing, as he appears to be determined to pursue a retrograde policy, notwithstanding his liberal instincts, in the face of a flood of light now thrown on Indian questions in consequence of the increased interest taken in them by several eminent members in the House of Commons, who have carefully studied and mastered them, and who will, we make no doubt, strain every nerve to have this unjust decision set aside. A careful examination of the grounds of opinion on which this momentous question has been decided cannot fail to impress one with the conviction, that it has not been considered on the broad and fundamental principle of equality in the eye of law, and that too much stress has been laid upon considerations of expediency and local, personal, or contingent circumstances in India. A satisfactory solution of the problem can be arrived at only in accordance with the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and the generous instincts of Englishmen at home, untrammelled by the local associations and bureaucratic influences prevailing here. It is conceded that the educated natives of India, especially educated Bengalis, are intellectually fit for administrative work. For physical training they need not go

to England. Is residence in England a *sine quâ non* for obtaining the necessary moral culture? The ancient Indo-Aryan civilisation, which was unique in the history of the world, was purely indigenous, our ancestors rarely holding communication with foreign nations. If such a civilisation (partly revived under English rule), unaffected by foreign influence, was possible in India many, many centuries ago, it is reasonable to suppose that the people of India may regain their lost civilisation under the civilising influence of English government, without having recourse to foreign travel.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that the habits, manners, customs, languages, ways of thinking, &c., of the people of India are different from those of Englishmen. Whether is an acquaintance with the mode of life and character of the ruler, or the ruled, necessary for the purpose of efficient administration in India?

It is well known, as a matter of fact, that English Civilians, on their first landing in India, are placed in subordinate and less responsible positions, and it is only when, after a stay of several years in India, they have acquired sufficient experience of official work, native life, and the vernaculars, that they are deemed competent to be entrusted with higher responsibilities. Even experienced officers, who have resided a long time in India, are occasionally found to commit official vagaries and blunders. "Few worse governments," says Dr. Congreve, "can be devised than one in which the governors are launched into office at an immature age; and when years and practice have refined their judgment and qualified them for their task, they make way for others to renew the same process: make their mistakes, learn wisdom, and spend the wisdom acquired in an idle and objectless existence in another sphere, or in the best contingency, not in the service of those at whose expense they have acquired it. The constant change of governors and their unripeness are ever-recurring topics of remark in the discussions on our government; and I find the judgment of an acute and not unfriendly statesman is to the effect, that in the inability to settle in India lies the most insuperable objection to our rule."

KAILAS CHUNDRA KANJILAL, B.L.

ART. VI.—BENGAL: ITS CASTES AND CURSES.

INDEPENDENT SECTION.

(Continued from No. 198, April 1895.)

THE VAISYAS.—(Continued.)

THE Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta maintain no social intercourse with those of Maldah,* Dacca, and other places of Bengal. Each party acknowledges the other to be of the same parent stock with it; but, as in the case of the Radhî and Varendra Brâhmanas, the separation, lasting more than four hundred years, defies every attempt to effect a re-union. The distances between their respective habitats, the difficulties of travel, and the growth of certain social customs peculiar to the locality to which each party adheres with pertinacity, prevent a re-union, which is very desirable on the ground of social economy. The Bysacks of Dacca, for instance, are not disposed to give up the *Jhâmpant*† or sedan chair used by the bridegroom at the time of a wedding, which the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta cannot reconcile with their sense of decorum. The peculiar dialects spoken by the Tantuvâyas of Maldah, Dacca, and other places present a sad contrast to the polished speech of the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta, and this is an additional reason why the gulf of separation cannot be bridged over.

There is philological evidence that the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta lived for a long time in the North-Western Provinces for the purpose of trade. We have related how Siva Dâs was honoured under the Royal command of the Emperor Akbar. But it was not he alone who carried on trade in the North-West. The other families of Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta followed his example, and were similarly honoured by the Mogul Government.‡ The result of their long sojourn

* A few years ago a movement was set on foot to make marriage alliances between the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta and those of Maldah, chiefly through the exertions of Babu Nilcamal Basak. But the measure not receiving the general approval of the Sett and Bysack families of Calcutta, made very little progress. It is to the credit of Babu Nilcamal that a path has been opened, and in course of time the amalgamation may advance with better results.

† See Risley's "Tribes and Castes" in Bengal, vol. II, page 296.

‡ Mukundaram and Keshavarām, who were contemporaries of Siva Dâs, had both an extensive commerce in cloth, the former at Savarnagrām near Dacca, and the latter at Cossimbâzâr. They were also members of the firm of Siva Dâs, and often sent supplies to him at Allahabad. The former was honoured by the Government of the Emperor Akbar by the confirmation of his title "Sett" with the addition of the title "Baboo;" the other was honoured with the title of "Baboo."

up-country was that they adopted the colloquial form of speech in accosting their father, uncle (paternal or maternal) and grandfather as used by the gentlemen and nobles of the North-West. These forms of speech are :—

বাবুজী (Babuji)	used in accosting father.
জেঠাজী (Jetháji)	„ „ father's elder brother.*
কাকাজী (Kákáji)	father's younger brother.
মামাজী (Mámáji)	mother's brother.
দাদাজী (Dádáji)	abbreviated into
দাজি (Dáji)	„ „ „ grandfather.

For these peculiar forms of speech with a terminal 'ji' the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta are sometimes ridiculed, through ignorance, of course, by their Bráhmāna and Káyastha brethren, for whose enlightenment we state here, that the same forms of speech obtain in the well-known Ghosal Raj family of Bhukailas,* Kidderpore. And why? Because the Ghosal family had frequent intercourse with the people of the North-Western Provinces on account of their extensive landed property there, and thus, like the Setts and Bysacks, adopted their peculiar form of speech.

There is also dietary evidence that the Setts and Bysacks of Calcutta either had their original seat in the North-Western Provinces, or frequently resorted to those Provinces. In every feast or entertainment, at a marriage, or *shraddha* ceremony, some of the dishes prepared by them are peculiar, and are a true copy of the dishes prepared by the Kshatriyas. The *raita*, the *dyé-bard*, the *mithé bard*, the *Sikharini* (commonly called *firni*) are dainties hitherto unknown in Bengali houses other than those of the Setts and Bysacks, though of late some of the rich families of Calcutta have learnt to prepare and use them. Then, again, *achar* of all sorts are of every-day use in the house of a Sett or Bysack, after the manner of the Hindustanis, while the Bráhmānas and Kayasthas up to the present day neither know how to prepare them, nor have any relish for them. Another fact which may be mentioned in connection with the dietary evidence is that the people of Bengal, *viz.*, the Bráhmānas, the Vaidyas, the Káyasthas, &c., be they rich or poor, as a rule take rice twice daily, once during the course of the day and another time during the night; but the case is quite different with the Setts and Bysacks.

* The Ghosal Raj family of Bhukailas (Kidderpore) is one of the rigid Bráhmāna families in Bengal, much respected throughout the country in past times for their adherence to *Śástric* rites. Joynarain College at Benares was founded by the late Babu Joynarain Ghosal of this family.

of Calcutta, who invariably take rice once only in the day time, and bread or *roti*, *luchi*, *parota*, etc., at night. The Hindustanis of Upper India do not take rice, but only bread; those residing in Bengal take rice once in the day time, while bread is always taken at night. In this respect the Setts and Bysacks appear to have followed the example set by the Hindustanis as the result of their frequent and close intercourse with the Kshatriyas and other high-caste people of the North-Western Provinces.

Owing to their great influence with the East India Company, the Setts and Bysacks in the early days of the Company's administration, had almost the monopoly of employment in all Government offices in Calcutta. This fact cannot be cited to their credit at all. We mention it simply to show that, as the cloth-trade was gradually transferred to Manchester, they had no other alternative than to adopt this course. At present their general condition is not prosperous, though a few families still enjoy the opulence amassed by the cloth-trade in the past, and derived from the extensive landed property in Calcutta which their ancestors have bequeathed to them.

The Bysacks of Dacca still carry on cloth-manufacture. But the Dacca cloth-market is now not so brisk as it used to be in former days. The Madhyama Kul and the Uttara Kul Tantuváyas still adhere to weaving cotton-cloth, but their condition, on the whole, is not prosperous, as the demand for *desi*, or country-made, cloth is much diminishing. The Dakshinakul (A'svini) Tantuváyas are generally well off, and stand next to the Varendrakul Tantuváyas. Many of them make either cotton, or silk goods, or carry on trade in cotton thread.

The patronymics of the Madhyama, Uttara and Dakshinakul Tantuváyas are given below :—

Madhyama Kul	...	...	Bishoi, Chaudhuri, Datta, Dálál, Dás, Dé, Guin, Kar, Mandal, Nandi, and Paramanik.
Uttara Kul	...	...	Bhástá, Chánd, Dás Datta, Gui, Kundu, and Láhá,
Dakshina Kul	...	..	Akuli, Ash, Bharh, Bhadra, Chandra, Dás, Datta, Dé, Dálál, Gui, Kar, Kundu, Laha, Mánná, Mudi, Nán, Nándí, Pál, Rakshít, Rudra, Rui, Síl, Sínha, Sen, Tosh.

The Tantuváyas are a peaceful class of subjects, and their religion is Vaishnavism as preached by Chaitanya.

It is also a fact that the Vaisyas, in past times, used to cross

the sea for the purpose of carrying on trade with foreign countries. China and the adjacent countries, as well as the islands of Sumatra, Java, and the Moluccas, were well-known to them. The Emperor Asoka formed alliances with kings of the surrounding nations, and sent preachers to propagate Buddhism. This course opened the way to foreign trade, for we find that, in the palmy days of Buddhism, Indian vessels sailed from Tāmralipti (Tumlook) to China and other countries beyond India. Not only the Vaisyas, but even the Brāhmanas, crossed the sea without forfeiture of caste.* In these days, crossing the *Kālāpāni* is viewed in the light of a social crime, entailing the loss of caste. We know that *saudagars* (merchants), such as Chand Saudagar, Dhanapati Saudagar and his son, Srimanta Saudagar, used to sail to countries beyond India for the purpose of carrying on trade with foreign lands. But now-a-days we do not hear of such sea-enterprises among the Bengalis. This sea-going enterprise is emblemized every year in the houses of Bengal by the worship of a ship (জাহাজ পূজা বা স্রাহুয় পূজা) Jáháj Pújá or Suáh Duáh Pújá on the last day of the month of Pausa, corresponding with the 13th January of the English year. The ship is made of the bark or rind of a plantain-tree, with new broom sticks fixed in three or four places, to represent masts, round which new country-made thread is coiled or twisted to represent cables. It is a very pleasing sight to see a number of such tiny plantain-bark *dongas* floating on the water of the Ganges (or of a *dighee*, or pond, in a village), with a lamp on each, just after twilight of the pújá day, and it is a feast of the ear to hear children in their best attire clapping and shouting

স্রাহুয় ভাসে ।

আমার ভাই হাসে ।

Suáh Duáh floats on water,
Laughs in ecstasies my brother.

A thoughtful man, however, cannot but feel pained when he thinks of the good old days when Indian vessels sailed down the river to the fathomless sea, amid the cheers and shouts of the assembled multitude. How long ago the people of Bengal gave up their sea-going enterprise cannot be said with certainty. Probably the subjugation of the country by the Mahomedans put an end to their naval spirit, when the Brāhmanas promulgated a new Shástric rule that sea-voyages entailed loss of caste. This is one of the greatest

* See Mr. R. C. Dutt's "History of Civilization in Ancient India," Vol. III, pages 78 to 80, recording Fa Hian's account of an interesting voyage from Tāmralipti to Ceylon, and from Ceylon to China.

curses which, in the name of caste, the Bráhmanas have thrown on the land, for whatever the cause of the stoppage of voyages may have originally been, people are now afraid to cross the sea for fear of losing their caste. Under the British administration, a liberal education has already begun to disperse the gloom which hung over the country for centuries, and Bengali youths have learnt the blessings of going to Europe and America. But this is not enough, for these Bengali youths go to Europe mainly for the purpose of securing employment in the covenanted service, or to qualify for a profession.

We have ascertained that the *Jáhaj Pújá* described above is compulsory on the Tantuváyas, and that the people of other castes observe it as a matter of option. In fact, they have followed the example set by the Tantuváyas, who must have ploughed the sea fifteen hundred years ago. But, as we know from Fa Hian's account that the Bráhmanas also braved the perils of the sea, we cannot help concluding *a fortiori* that all classes of the Vaisyas crossed the sea, and that the Tantuváyas, as members of the Vaisya caste, introduced a new *pújá* or ceremony, which was approved by other classes of the Vaisyas and even by the Bráhmanas themselves, and which has since become an established festival.

We have seen that the Sadgopas, the different classes of the Vaniks and the Tantuváyas represent the Vaisya caste of Bengal. There is yet another class, the *Karmakáras* (blacksmiths), who may also be considered as originally belonging to the Vaisya caste, for Manu's definition of the duties of a Vaisya may be held to apply to their profession also. Indeed, Parasara * (I. 60) mentions the working in iron as one of the duties of the Vaisya class. The Karmakáras of Bengal are an illiterate class of people, generally of unpolished manners, but their Vaisya origin cannot be questioned.

Mr. R. C. Dutt, of the Bengal Civil Service, in his treatise entitled, "A History of Civilization in Ancient India," includes Káyasthas and Vaidyas under the Vaisya caste, but we are sorry we cannot agree with him, for reasons which will be fully detailed when we come later on to treat of those two classes of people.

We give here a short account of a section of people in Eastern Bengal who call themselves Vaisyas† and claim to

* Parasara is admittedly one of the latest Dharma Shástras of the Páuranik age. His Dharma Shástra, it is said, governs the Kali Yuga.—See R. C. Dutt's "Ancient India," Vol. III, page 290. He is not the old Parasara, Father of Vyása.

† See Risley's "Races and Castes in Bengal," Vol. II, page 348.

be the modern representatives of the Vaisyas of classical tradition. They are most numerous in the Bhowal Pargana of Dacca and at Jahangirpur in Maimansing. They deny that Ballála reigned over them, or re-organized them. They wear the sacred thread, and profess to repeat the Gáyitri. Formerly, they married "in their own *gotra*, or exogamous group, but of late years, in order to stay the scandal, new *gotras* have been formed. They have no peculiar titles, but Gupta is often added to their names, while individuals employed as assistants to merchants frequently assume the surname of Visváś." They do not bow down to Bráhmanas. Among them the period of impurity is fifteen days.

Buddhism, while it had its stronghold at Pataliputra (Patna) in Behar, exercised a potent influence over the minds of the people of that tract of country which is now known as the Lower Provinces. Buddha was by birth a Kshatriya. His religion was a standing protest against Bráhmanism which had reached its climax, and gave rise to revolt as the natural sequence of oppression, religious or political. Buddhism was too refined, too elevated, too much identified with truth, and too true a manifestation of the godhead to be assailed or discomfited by the Bráhmanas, who were naturally opposed to its propagation, because it disrobed the ugly and revolting features of Bráhmanism, and because it stripped the Bráhmanas of their vested rights and privileges. It was a revelation of the natural religion. Bráhmanhood stood aghast at the marvellous visage and advance of Buddhism. Powerless to resist or stem the tide, it gave way to its spread and triumph, and disappeared, as it were, from the midst of Hinduism. The Kings of Behar became Buddhists. The upper classes, Khatriyas and Vaisyas, followed suit. Even the Súdra class yielded to the inroads of the new faith. The people of Behar, and especially of Bengal, always more susceptible and impressive than the people of the North-West, became its zealous adherents and rigid followers. They shook off the mummeries of the Bráhmanical faith, and broke through all distinction of caste and traditional restraints of society. They denied the supremacy of Bráhmanas, or the divinity of their insignia—the sacred thread. As a practical demonstration, they laid aside their sacred thread, and cared not to bow to the Bráhmanas as to the gods of metal or earth. The change was not, however, universal. The Vaniks, for instance, did not secede as a class from the ways of their ancestors. They were naturally more superstitious and timorous, and lacked the moral courage to adopt new forms or practices. They stuck to their thread, while the other Vaisyas threw it off, as a badge unworthy of them, as men and as

Hindus. When, after the lapse of several centuries, the tide of Bráhmānism returned and Purānas began to be manufactured, strenuous efforts were made to demolish the fabric that Buddhism had raised and to remodel Hindu society on its pristine basis. The Bráhmanas took great care to keep their foes down in the straits of the new society, and successfully divested the Sadgōpas and the Tantuvāyas of their Vaisyaism. It is probable that some of those who retained their old habits and reverence for the Bráhmanas escaped the rage and revenge of the Bráhmanas. If the Bráhmanas had been monarchs at the time, they would have made short work of all the innovations that Buddhism had introduced during its ascendancy. It was left in later times to a Vaidya monarch to finish the work that the Bráhmanas began when Buddhism was buried in its tomb. It is possible—nay it is a fact, as we have narrated before—that the Suvarnavaniks had been deprived of their *paita* (sacred thread) by his royal ukase. It is a fact that the Jūgis had their *paita* (sacred thread) originally, but they were forced to give it up by Ballála. They have again attempted to revive it in the mild reign of Her Majesty the Empress of India. So the loss or disappearance of the sacred thread from the body of the Vaisya classes, such as the Sadgōpas, the Tantuvāyas, and the Vaniks of Bengal, is easily accounted for, and it cannot be adduced as a proof of their Súdra origin. Another ostensible ground that may be alleged to militate against the purity of their Vaisya birth is the fact that their mourning continues to last thirty days, while the time allowed by the Shástras is fifteen days. The mourning time, as ruled by Manu, is ten days for the sacerdotal class. Literally all the four classes practise the austerities of mourning for ten days. The Vaisyas and even the Súdras retain their real mourning for not more than ten days. The austerities of mourning consist in the articles of food and the wearing of clothes. No sewn cloth must be worn. *Habishtanna*, or rice and clarified butter, must be cooked and eaten by the chief mourner, or mourners, *viz.*, son, or sons, and their wives. On the eleventh day the ten *pindas* (cakes) are offered to the manes of the dead. The real *shrāddha* is therefore performed on that day. With the Súdras the semblance of mourning continues till the thirtieth day.* The Vaisya classes, who have been driven into the Súdra fold, have the misfortune to continue it till the thirtieth day, but the real *shrāddha* is performed on the eleventh day. These are practices which both

* Mourning is no test of casts. The Bráhmanas have their ten days, the Kshatryas have twelve days, but the up-country Kásháras and Kurmis (these castes do not exist in Bengal but hail from Behar or the North-Western Provinces) have ten day's period.

custom and example have enforced, nor do they care to give them up, their respect and grief for their dead parents being too great and real for them to relax the austerities. They would rather continue it to a year, which we know is actually done in some shape.*

Our object in tracing the true origin and development of the Hindus in Bengal is to show that the four castes remained intact and flourished during the succession of ages, from the time of Manu down to the present period; that, with the growth and expansion of society, the increase of population led to the inevitable result, the dispersion of all professions and not the extinction of any certain class. The professions of the Vaisyas were, in course of time and by force of circumstances, such as the struggle for existence, usurped by people of the other three castes, especially by the Sûdras and mixed classes. It is unnatural to suppose that the latter would stick to service, and continue to remain bondsmen for ever. There is no question that the Sûdras and mixed classes betook to the professions of the Vaisyas. We cannot accept such a monstrous theory as that the Vaisyas, who stood as one of the four pillars of the Hindu social structure, and who numbered on the average about one-fourth of the pure Hindu population, became extinct, simply because their professions were taken up by their brethren of the other classes. We are aware that Indians of the wilds of America disappeared by the contact of civilization, or, in other words, fire and arms polished the savage off the face of the earth to make room for the civilized hoards that invaded their land. It is impossible to believe that the effacement of a whole community, without the intervention of any natural or political cataclysm, was consummated by such a simple course as natural decay. It is a historical fact, as we shall show subsequently, that in later times the pure Sûdras were swamped by the mixed classes, and that the Sûdras in the North-West were merged in the various low professions that have sprung up since the days of Manu. The Vaisyas have continued, and still continue, to exist under a different name, and the artificial means by which this unnatural result was arrived at, have already been discussed and will be further shown in the subsequent pages. If the descendants of the first Aryan Brâhmanas could have survived in Bengal, without a drop of their blue blood being stained by intermixture, we do not see why the Kshatriyas and Vaisyas

* This is *Kâldsoucha* which lasts a year, and ends with the performance of *Sapindikarana*. During this period of one year, marriage of the son or the daughter of the chief mourner is prohibited. In the case of a daughter of marriageable age or whose marriage cannot be staid beyond a certain age, according to the custom of the family, it may take place, but still it is not considered thoroughly lucky.

could not, or did not, preserve their purity of blood too. It is the Sūdras and the mixed classes only, who originally sprang from hybrid sources, that managed to supplant the place of the Vaisyas, by usurping their name, in spite of their strenuous resistance and just resentment. There is a proverb :—

কাল বামুন কটা শূদ্র বেঁটে মুসলমান ।

বরজামাইয়ে পোষাপুত্র পাঁচই সমান ।

A black Brāhmana, a brown coloured Sūdra, a Mussulman of short stature, a son-in law residing in the house of the father-in-law, and an adopted son—these five stand on the same level.

That lays the axe at the root of all pretensions of Brāhmanhood, and that indicates that the Brāhmanas of Bengal, with their Sūdra brethren, have not been able to preserve their original complexion and character of their ancestors. The climate is partly to blame for this change no doubt. Their subsequent aggressions and persistent persecution,* in the shape of religious and social banns, go still more to account for the degradation to which they have, in collusion with a stupid and conceited monarch, brought the whole of the Vaisya class. Theoretically the Brāhmanas are superhuman beings, but in reality there is nothing in their character moral intellectual and social—in their constitution, or in their habits, or in their social or domestic ways—that justifies the arrogation of a supremacy over the other classes. Ethnologically they are on the same footing with the three lower castes. The capacity or the calibre of their brains is the same as that of the other three classes. If great intellectual giants rose in their midst (and we are here speaking of the few giants of Bengal, not of the Munís and Rishis of the Satya or Treta Yuga, nor of the old Sages of Bhāratavarsa, who propounded laws for the constitution of society, or who evoked transcendental systems of philosophy that strike the admiration and wonder of the modern world),

* The persecution was so strong and assiduous that even Brāhmanas themselves did not escape it. Thus, Rāmachandra Kavibhārati, a Brāhmana of the *Kātyāyana gōtra* residing at Baliāri, in the district of Maldah, a place largely inhabited by Brahmanas of all denominations, was obliged to fly to Ceylon. The reason of his exile is given in his own words.—“Let friends forsake me, let learned men deride me, let the King punish me, I know no other protector, O Lord!” In Ceylon he was appointed Buddha-gāma Chakravarti by King Parākramaavahu. Now there were two Kings of this name, both reformers of Buddhism, one belonging to the twelfth and another to the fifteenth century. It is still a question whether Rāmachandra Kavibhārati belonged to the twelfth or the fifteenth century. Probably he belonged to the twelfth century, *i. e.*, before the Mahomedan conquest, but Mr. Shjākhanda, a learned monk of Ceylon, says that he belonged to the fifteenth century, *i. e.*, shortly before the conquest of Ceylon by the Portuguese.

it is because they held the key of the store-house of Hindu learning and religion. Even with their advantage, the proportion of really erudite or learned men among them to the mass of ignorant and illiterate Bráhmaṇas is microscopically small. The Kshatriyas are as great and real Aryas as the Bráhmaṇas, but their occupation is gone—gone long since the country became a prey of the barbarous hordes from regions beyond the Indus. The Vaisyas were, and are, no less distinguished for their natural parts, but to them the doors of the temple of Sarasvatī have long been closed. They were deprived of their right to true knowledge by brute force, and allowed only to read and write to the extent of enabling them to carry on their business. In course of time they became content with their social and worldly possessions—with their mundane affairs. And as for the Sūdras, the moment the Government of the country removed the barriers and unlocked the gates of foreign lore, they sprang up to eminence by leaps and bounds, so much so that, if a census be taken of the whole body of graduates, the Boses, Ghoses and Mitras will take precedence over the Mukarjis, Banerjis and Chatterjis. To one Bankim there was the Giant Madhu, to one 'Pandit' there was a Dwarkanath to match.

According to Dr. Max Müller and others, Buddhá's *nirvana* took place about 477 B. C. The religion promulgated by him became the State religion during the brilliant reign of the Emperior Asoka the Great, whose coronation took place about 260 B. C. It continued to be the prevailing religion of the country for a period of nearly 1,200 years, when it began die a natural death. The great Sankarácárya, whose powerful battery of logic routed the Buddhists in open discussion from every place, flourished in the early part of the ninth century of the Christian era, and laboured much with success to bring back the tide of Hinduism, which was commenced two centuries before by Kumárla Bhatta, one of the most uncompromising opponents of Buddhism. Sankarácárya finished what Kumárla began. The writings of these great men influenced in no small degree the minds of the Kings, who began to persecute the Buddhists, by burning their monasteries and books, demolishing their temples, and sending them into exile. But we do not exactly know what the state of Hindu society was in the tract of country in which the prevalence of Buddhism was foremost. History has not yet recorded how the Buddhists fared, how the Vaisyas flourished, what proportion the Vaisya population bore to the other classes, how far they became absorbed into one class, and how the name of Vaisya was effaced, or how it disappeared with the name of Buddhists. We do not know how far the Bráhmaṇic

influence extended, or what were the forces that were brought to bear, and what were the circumstances under which the Buddhists or Vaisyas began to decline, or how the Súdras began to rise and supplant the Vaisyas. The Súdras must have found service no longer pleasant or profitable, and, as a natural result of the struggles for existence, they must have had recourse to the existing Vaisya trades and occupations for their subsistence. They adopted the professions of Baniahs, Sadgópas, and Tantuváyas, and lived by their side, or with them as Súdra Baniahs, Súdra Sadgópas, and Súdra Tantuváyas, till the name of Vaisyas and Súdras dropped, and the professional patronymics were mixed up with the patronymics of each caste. Hindu society did not admit of further fusion of the several castes. They could not unite into one caste as Vaisya or as Súdra, because they lived together separate and apart from each other, while their professions were the same and alike. They were members of the same society. The generation of the Vaisya Baniahs, Vaisya Sadgópas, and Vaisya Tantuváyas continued to flow in as pure and uncontaminated a course as the generation of Bráhmaṇas and Kshatriyas of Bengal flowed. If the lines of the latter were not polluted by mixture, there is no reason to suppose that the generation of the Vaisya families became mixed or soiled. A Vaisya Baniah lived along with a Súdra Baniah, or a Vaisya Tantuváya with a Súdra Tantuváya. They stuck to their respective lines as steadfastly and as faithfully as the Bráhmaṇas themselves. The profession became the common patronymic of both ; it became general, and paved the way to the effacement of the distinction of Vaisya. The name disappeared, and it was easy for the Bráhmaṇa-yoked Hindus of Bengal to amalgamate into one class for the mere purpose of classification. Hence the rank and position of the Vaisyas became extinct, but their birth and purity of origin remain all the same. None of these classes, whether categorised as Vaisyas or Súdras, were mixed, nor were the Vaisyas merged in the Súdra body, except in name. They retained their practices and usages, and their birth-rights entire and intact. On the other hand, the Súdras, of persons of mixed class, who adopted the profession of the Vaisyas, remained distinct classes, separate from the Vaisyas. It is thus that we find at the present day Tantuváyas who are called Chhotá-bhagiya Tantis* (Kayath Tántis), Magi Sreni Tántis,* Káturé Tantis,† and a portion of the Jolha Tantis,‡

* See Risley's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," Vol. II., page 296.

† See Risley's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," Vol. I., page 435.

‡ Jolhas are the Mahomedan weaver caste of Bengal and Behar ; but it appears that some of them are considered to be Hindus, who are insignificant in number. See Risley's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," Vol. I., pages 349 and 350.

who originally belonged either to the mixed or Súdra class, but who, on adopting the profession of the Vaisya Tantuváyas, received the appellation of Tánti (Tantri of the Nava-Sáyaka group). These Tántis remain as separate classes from the Vaisya Tantuváyas of whom we have spoken in the preceding pages. It was the really mixed classes who sought and found it to their interest to bring about the degradation of the Vaisya classes into the Súdra rank—not that the real Súdras were mixed or hybrids, but the hybrid or mixed classes with the real Vaisyas and Súdras, were made to form a compact homogeneous body, and that compact body exists as one Súdra class. There are heaps of works, pamphlets, and leaflets, like the Sonágáchee literature of the present day, breeding maggots day after day, to prove that such and such castes are বর্জন্য (mixed). These writers varied in their theories, according to their partiality to, or predilection for, a certain class. Some asserted that the Káyasthas were not mixed; others maintained that the Baniahhs were mixed. These shallow, vapid, unreasoning theories and fanciful ideas were propagated by means of interpolated passages of Puránas written for the purpose. None dared to impeach the supreme authority of Manu, but each had his own views of men and of their origin manufactured in his imaginative brain, without rhyme or reason and without the least semblance of logic.

One of the causes why the Vaisya name has disappeared is that the Vaisyas formed the main body of followers of Buddhism, and when persecution set in against them, they cared not to retain their Vaisya name, and escaped the rigours of persecution by treading with the Súdras. There were Súdras, no doubt, who embraced Buddhism, and were equally objects of persecution, but there was not a lower stage to which they could be reduced. The Vaisyas and the Súdras, who conformed to Bráhmancial faith, were placed in the category of Nava-Sáyakas, and were permitted to form, with the Káyasthas, the pure Súdra class.

Looking at the present state or structure of Bengali society, it is no wonder that Europeans, like Messrs. Ward, Beames, and others, who have studied the subject of caste, and whose information on the subject is chiefly derived from the testimony of native officials, who either care very little for the matter, or else are influenced by party-interest, should come to the conclusion that the Vaisyas, as a body, do not now exist in Bengal, or that the Súdras are not to be found in the North-West. They are not aware that the Vaisyas do exist and that the original name of Vaisyas has simply become obsolete, and that their professions have passed into patro-

nymics.* They have not that intimate acquaintance with the caste system or the domestic economy of the Hindus in Bengal to enable them to solve the mystery of the effacement of the Vaisya's name. They cannot realise the fact that the Vaisyas existed and do still exist in as solid a body as they existed before Gautama Buddha appeared on earth, and that they are as pure and real descendants of Vaisyas as their original stock was in the time of Manu, but the name has been dropped, and this accounts for the gap in the social chain.

We have attempted in these pages, and shall further attempt, to prove that the four principal castes, as enumerated in Manu, still exist in Bengal in all their purity and entirety, though we must admit that it is a difficult matter to identify *all* the professional castes of the present day with the four grand divisions of Aryan society. We repeat that it is not a fact, and it cannot be a fact, that the whole population of Vaisyas have disappeared without any real or ostensible cause. Persecution might have led to the abandonment of the name, it might have obliged them to throw off their nomenclature or their sacred thread, or to enter the fold of the Śūdras. But it will, no doubt, be admitted that persecution could not have extinguished a whole class. Even if famine or pestilence be cited as a cause of the extinction, it is impossible to suppose that Vaisyas alone, and not people of other castes, perished. There was no war or political crisis to account for the annihilation of a race, even if such evils did occur. It is certain, therefore, that all the Vaisyas have not disappeared. Besides the fact, as we shall come to discuss the matter later on, that the Vaisyas, who are categorised under the mushroom class of Nava-Sáyaka, have strenuously held aloof

* It is perhaps not generally known that the term 'Vaisya' is Greek to the illiterate people of the Vaisya class; but the intelligent and the knowing portion understand it to be a caste distinction. When questioned about the caste to which he belongs, a Vaisya, be he an intelligent or an illiterate person, will name the profession to which he belongs, as, that he is a Sadgōpa, a Tantuvāya, or a Vanik, without stating the division, but when questioned further, the former will at once say that he is a Vaisya, while the latter will simply repeat what he has already answered. The term 'Vaisya,' as applied to the third division of the four grand original Hindu castes, involving as it does a variety of callings, sub-divided into separate classes or communities has fallen into disuse, not that it has been forgotten, or that it has disappeared from the vocabulary, but as the occupation of a Hindu does not affect his caste—at least in the present age—it is immaterial whether a certain Vaisya is called a Vaisya, or by his profession. The usual reply given by a person when questioned about his caste is, that he is a Kāyastha, a Sadgōpa, a Bania, or a Tantuvāya. He never says that he belongs to the Vaisya or the Śūdra class, for it would be a superfluity, if not an enigma, to describe himself as a Vaisya, when the Vaisya class includes a number and variety of castes or professions. A Kāyastha replying that he is a Kayastha means that he is a Śūdra and not a Vaisya or a Brāhmana or a Kshatriya; in the same way a Vaisya saying that he is a Sadgōpa or a Bania or a Tantuvāya is understood that he belongs to the Vaisya class. The use of the term 'Vaisya' or 'Śūdra,' to repeat what has been said before, has fallen out of ordinary usage, colloquial or writing.

from the real Súdra classes, they never acknowledged themselves as Bráhmans's Dása (servant) or revered the Bráhmanas more than their ancestors did the original Bráhmanas of Bengal. They never bribed them to secure greater privileges than they owned before. They were content to pursue their own professions irrespective of what the pseudo-diplomatic Káyasthas did with the suborned aid and help of the newly imported Bráhmanas.

We conclude our chapter on the Vaisyas with the following thoughtful extract from Mr. "Dutt's Ancient India"—

"From an account of the country we turn to an account of the people. Alberuni makes some brief remarks on the caste system, from which we are able to see that the Vaisyas—the great body of the Aryan people—were fast degenerating to the rank of Súdras. In one place, we are told, that between the Vaisyas and the Súdras 'there is no very great distance.' (Chapter IX.) Elsewhere we learn that the Vaisyas had already been deprived of their ancient heritage of religious learning; that the Bráhmans taught the Veda to the Kshatriyas, but the 'Vaisya and Súra are not allowed to hear it, much less to pronounce or recite it.' (Chapter XII.) Again, we are told, that 'every action which is considered as the privilege of a Bráhman, such as saying prayers, the recitation of the Veda, and offering sacrifices to the fire, is forbidden to him, to such a degree that when—e.g., a Súdra or a Vaisya is proved to have recited the Veda,—he is accused by the Bráhmans before the ruler, and the latter will order his tongue to be cut off' (Chapter LXIV.)

"Let the reader compare this account of the Vaisya's status with that given by Manu, and he will have before him the history of the gradual, degeneracy of the people, and of the growing power of priests. The descendants of the Vaisyas, who had an equal right with Bráhmanas to learn and recite the Veda and to sacrifice to the fire, came (after the religious and political revolutions of the ninth and tenth centuries A. D.) to be classed with Súdras, and considered unworthy of religious knowledge! Kshatriyas still held their own as long as India was a free country, but lost their glory and independence after the eleventh century. And then the bold myth was proclaimed that Kshatriyas, too, as a caste had, like the Vaisyas, ceased to exist, that all who were not Bráhmans were Súdras—all equally incapable of reciting the Veda and sacrificing to the fire!"

—Dutt's "Ancient India," Vol. III. pp. 479 and 480.

THE SUDRAS.

According to Manu the Súdras sprang from the feet of the Creator of the Universe, thus indicating their position and status in the scale of society, which are thus defined in the Mánava Dharma Shástra.

একমেবতু শূদ্রস্য প্রভুঃকর্ম্মসমাদিশাৎ ।

এতেষামেব বর্ণানাং শুভ্রাশমনশ্চয়্যা । Manu, ch. I, v. 91.

One occupation only the lord prescribed to the Súdra, to serve meekly even these (other) three castes.

এতান্ দ্বিজাতয়োদেশান্ সংশ্রয়েন্নু প্রযত্নতঃ ।

শূদ্রা বৃশ্ণিন্ কশ্মিরানিসেক্ষুস্তিকধিতঃ । Manu ch. II. v 24.

Let twice-born men seek to dwell in those (above-named) countries ; but a Súdra, distressed for subsistence, may reside anywhere.

বিপ্রাণাং জনিতোজোষ্ঠঃ ক্ষত্রিযাণামুর্বাধাতঃ ।

• • বৈশ্যানাঙ্কানুধনতঃ শূদ্রানামেবজন্মতঃ । Manu, Ch. II V. 155.

The seniority of Bráhmaṇas is from (sacred knowledge), that of Kshatriyas from valour, that of Vaisyas from wealth in grain (and other goods), but that of Súdras alone from age.

বিপ্রাণাং বেদবিদুষাং গৃহস্থানাং বশস্বিনাম্ ।

শুক্রশ্চৈব তু শূদ্রশ্চ ধর্মো নৈঃ শ্রেয়সঃ পরঃ । Manu, ch IX. v. 334.

But to serve Bráhmaṇas (who are) learned in the Vedas, householders, and famous (for virtue), is the highest duty of a Súdra, which leads to beatitude.

ব্রাহ্মণঃ ক্ষত্রিয়ো বৈশ্যস্তয়ো বর্ণা বিজাতয়ঃ ।

চতুর্থ এক জাতিস্ত শূদ্রো নাস্তি তু পঞ্চমঃ । Manu, ch. X, v. 4.

The Bráhmaṇa, the Kshatriya, and the Vaisya castes (Varna) are the twice-born ones, but the fourth, the Súdra, has one birth only ; there is no fifth (caste).

• বিপ্রমৈবৈব শূদ্রস্য বিশিষ্টং কর্ম কীর্ত্যতে ।

যদতোইচ্ছদ্বি কুরুতে তদুপত্যস্য নিফলম্ ।

প্রকল্পাতস তৈরুত্তিঃ অকুটুম্বাদ্যধারিতঃ ।

শক্তিং চাবেক্ষ্যদাক্ষ্যং চ ভৃত্যানাং চ পরিগ্রহম্ ।

উচ্ছিষ্টমন্নদাতব্যং জীর্ণানিবসনানি চ ।

পুলাকান্শ্চৈব ধান্যানাং জীর্ণান্শ্চৈব পরিচ্ছদাঃ ।

ন শূদ্রে পাতকং কিঞ্চিন্ন চ সংস্কারমহিতি ।

নাস্যাদিকারো ধর্মেইত্তি ন ধর্মাৎ প্রতিষেধনম্ ।

ধর্মেণ বস্ত ধর্মজাঃ সত্যং ব্রহ্মমুষ্টিতঃ ।

মন্ত্রবর্জমুদ্বাস্তি প্রশংসান্ প্রপু বতি চ । Manu, ch XV, 123 to 127

শক্তেনাপি হি শূদ্রেণ ন কার্য্য ধনসঞ্চয়ঃ ।

শূদ্রোহি ধনমাসাদ্য ব্রাহ্মণানৈব বাধতে ।

Ibid v. 129.

Attendance on Bráhmaṇas is pronounced the best work of a Súdra ; whatever else he may perform will comparatively avail him nothing.

They must allot him a fit maintenance according to their own circumstances, after considering his ability, his exertions, and the number of those whom he must provide with nourishment.

What remains of their dressed rice must be given to him, and apparel which they have worn, and the refuse of their grain, and their old household furniture.

A Súdra cannot commit an offence, causing loss of caste (pataka), and he is not worthy to receive the sacraments; he has no right to (fulfil) the sacred law (of the Aryas yet) there is no prohibition against (his fulfilling certain portions of) the law.

Even Súdras, who, anxious to perform their entire duty and knowing what they should perform, imitate the practice of good men, without reciting sacred texts, are not blamed, but acquire just applause.

No (superfluous) collection of wealth must be made by a Súdra, even though he has power (to make it), since a servile man who has amassed riches, gives pain to Bráhmānas.

These passages speak for themselves, without any comment, and clearly show what the position of a Súdra was in the time of Manu. Other passages might be quoted, but these will answer our purpose sufficiently. At present there is perhaps no caste in Bengal answering to the descriptions of a Súdra as given by Manu. The structure of Aryan society in Manu's time was quite different from that of the present day. The Bráhmānas themselves are no longer the Bráhmānas whose position and duties are described in detail by Manu. During the Hindu monarchy the Bráhmānas had very little to do with mundane affairs. They had their means of subsistence fixed by kings and wealthy Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, and they were thus able to devote their whole life to literary and theological pursuits. As subjects of kings they paid, perhaps, tribute in the shape of a few fruits, or a handful of grain, to receive in return gifts and allowances sufficient for their maintenance throughout the year, or throughout life. It is true their advice was sometimes sought for on points connected with the affairs of State; but in point of fact they did not mix in any way with the Government of the country, or identify themselves with the governing class. A few of them were, however, retained in the Royal Court to propound laws and Shástras, or to sit as judges or assessors in deciding cases. Having sufficient means of maintenance, a Bráhmāna, in the time of the Hindu monarchy, was in a position to keep in his house one or two or more men of the servile class to pluck flowers for his worship (*pūjā*), to fetch water for his use, to gather wood or fuel for his fire, to clear his house of dirt, to shave his hair, or pare his nails, to wash his clothes, to take care of his children, and to minister to his comfort in a hundred ways. Who the men of the servile class actually were, is rather difficult to determine with precision. Dr. Wilson, in his

"Indian Caste," is inclined to think that the Súdras were a distinct nation, dwelling in the part of the country about the Indus, where, in the oldest time, the Aryan Indians dwelt. The Aryas "probably conquered these earlier inhabitants; and it becomes manifest, from this circumstance, that it was from the conquest of the other aborigines in the interior part of the country that afterwards the name Súdra was extended to the whole servile class.*" Lassen and others think that the name Súdra is not of Sanskrit origin, but was probably the tribal designation of one of the chief aboriginal races of Hindustan who adopted the Aryan faith, and were admitted as servile members of the Aryan polity. Tribes who followed the example of the Súdras were naturally enrolled in the same class, and thus came to be called by the same name. Dr. Weber, on the other hand, thinks that the Súdra caste was composed of various mixed elements, partly, perhaps, of an Aryan race, which had settled early in India, partly of the aborigines themselves, and partly, again, of those among the immigrants, or their western kinsmen, who refused adherence to the new Brahmanical order.†

We are, however, not satisfied with any of these solutions of the question, though Dr. Weber's opinion carries considerable weight with it. We have said before that, for the economy of Aryan society, the Aryas were divided into four classes, and that those Aryas who were fit neither for sacerdotal duty, nor for the duties of the military class, nor for those of the Vaisyas, were styled Súdras, and the duty assigned to them was the service of the three higher classes, especially of the Bráhmanas. We are not wide of the mark when we say, that a number of men fitted for servile work did accompany the Aryas when they entered the plains of Bháratvarsa, and that when the Aryan community was divided into distinctive classes, a fourth class called the Súdras was naturally recognized for service of the three higher ones. Manu does not say that the Súdras were the aborigines of the country who "were admitted as servile members of the Aryan polity," because of their having adopted the Aryan faith. On the contrary, he treats them as the last of the four pure castes. Having only one birth, they were naturally looked upon as inferior in all respects to the twice-born classes. Sons of twice-born persons, until they received the second birth, are treated by Manu as on the same level with the Súdras. On the other hand, it is not unreasonable to suppose that, in after times, some of the conquered races who placed themselves under the

* Wilson's "Indian Caste," Vol. I, page 112.

† See Risley's "Tribes and Castes of Bengal," Vol. II, pages 268 and 269.

protection of the Aryas and adopted the Bráhmancial faith, were recognised as members of the Súdra or the servile class. Manu, indeed, mentions servants of seven sorts, *viz.*, one made captive under a standard, or in battle, one maintained in consideration of service, one born of a female slave in the house, one sold, or given, or inherited from ancestors, and one enslaved by way of punishment on his inability to pay a large fine. (Manu chapter, VIII, verse 415). But at any rate the Súdras who were permitted to live in the same house with their Bráhmāna masters and allowed to touch their goods and chattels, were of Aryan origin. The Bráhmanas would have been the last persons to touch the aboriginal races by allowing them to live in their midst. People of aboriginal races made captives in battle were utilized by the king in the service of the State. Take, for instance, the *Nápitā*, or the barber, who is undoubtedly of Aryan origin. Manu nowhere mentions the *Nápitās* as a separate class, and, their duties not coming under the Vaisya class, we must conclude that they belonged to the servile class and lived in the same house with their Bráhmāna masters, to serve them and to minister to their comforts. The *Nápitās* are generally a very shrewd class of people, and we believe that constant contact with the Bráhmanas has made their cunning pass into a proverb. In later times, the *Nápitās* differentiated into a separate class, but originally they were members of the Súdra caste, who are enjoined by Manu to serve the three higher classes, especially the Bráhmanas.

It is a mistake to suppose that the Súdras were slaves to Bráhmanas, or to any other high castes, in the sense in which slavery is understood in other parts of the world. The condition of the servile class was not at all painful, as is sometimes supposed by those who have not read the *Mánava Dharma Shástra*. On this point the following extract,* from E. W. Hopkin's work on the subject, correctly sums up the main features of the social status of the Súdras as represented by Manu.

"The Súdra, once born, is to be regarded in two lights—the one as general representative of his caste, irrespective of his master, where he is the abject slave of the twice-born, whose touch is unholy, in whose presence the Bráhmāna may not remain, contact with whom is as polluting as with the lowest wretches and outcasts; on the other hand, as the settled servant of one master, in whose house he is perhaps born, where his position is by no means so ignoble, though the fact of his slavery and lowness cannot be done away with. The personal contact with the Bráhmāna is here greatly eased of the strict abhorrence with which the *Dvijā* is bound in general to regard the Súdra caste. As a servant his position is not in many respects different from the, indeed, not comfortable, because dependent and servile,

* See Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal," Vol. II, pages 269 and 270.

yet still endurable and not very severe, position of an American house-slave prior to 1860. It is true that the Súdra has no mercy to expect on insulting his betters, and torture and death may be the consequence, but so long as he retains a respectful demeanour towards the upper caste, he is tolerably secure from danger. His master may give him advice, and bestow on him such old furniture and goods as are no longer fitted for the Bráhmaṇ himself. He has his family, and his wife is as carefully guarded from freedom with other castes as the wives of the upper orders. His daughter or wife, if wronged by the upper castes, have the right of law, and a heavy fine is visited upon the offender. His master has, indeed, the right of punishing him, but only, as in the case of son and wife, for his own good. The striking is, moreover, limited in kind, and the fact, that he may not be smitten upon the back, shows that even he had an honourable part of the body. He may not study, nor hear the Vedas recited, but he may be present at the small family sacrifices and religious ceremonies, and is indeed even praised for so doing. His legal privileges are few, but his rights are granted him with the other castes. He has the right of demanding redress for an injury of personal character even from the Bráhmaṇa himself. He is held separate from the very lowest, the mixed castes, and should hold himself from their occupations till driven thereto by want. He represents his master in occasional business matters. As a matter of principle he can have himself no property, as all belongs to his master, but practically he is a householder and receives a support suited to his need, and has property returned him if it is stolen. He is enjoined not to acquire very much, but evidently often managed to do so; and if his property in the eye of the law is dependent on the whim of the Bráhmaṇa, it is at least, in respect to other castes, not regarded as a fiction. The rights of the Súdra are generally on a graded scale in respect to the other castes, and here no distinction is made between family-slave and general Súdra. Distinct mention of Súdra as teacher when others fail, and the possibility of his being a king, show that he sometimes gained a position superior to the one he generally occupies."

In considering the Súdras of Bengal we must consider the most incongruous classification called the Nava-Sáyaka† or nine classes of people who helped the mythical Parasuráma in his twenty-one engagements against the Kshatriyas. Parasuráma, so the legend tells us, was the son of Yamadagni, a Bráhmaṇa, who was put to death by King Arjuna for some offence, and the son thereupon took a vow to divest the earth of all Kshatriyas. Parasuráma was an impetuous youth, but was resolute in his purpose. At one time he cut off the head of his mother, under his father's orders, when other sons of Yamadagni would not perpetrate the diabolical act. As a Bráhmaṇa, Parasuráma enlisted the sympathies of certain members of the Vaisya and Súdra castes, and successfully carried off twenty-one

* In the last two particulars he stood, indeed, upon a higher level than the Negro.—E. W. H.

† Literally, Nava—nine and Sáyaka—arrow or weapon.

crusades against the Kshatriyas.* Those classes of people with whose help he destroyed the Kshatriyas are enumerated in the following couplet, ascribed to Parásara and quoted by Rájá Sir Radhakanta Deva Bahadur in his voluminous lexicography called the 'Sabdakalpadruma.' The couplet runs thus :—

গোপো মালি তথা তৈলী তদ্বী যোদক বারুজী ।

কুলালঃ কর্মকারশ্চ নাপিতো নবশায়ক ।

Gópa, Málí, Tálí, Tantrí, Módaká, Barují, Kulála, Karma-kára, and Nápita, are the Nava-Sáyakas.

We do not know (nor can any Pandit tell us) who this Parásara was. Apparently he cannot be the father of Vyása, the reputed author of the Vedas. Mr. R. C. Dutt, in his "History of Civilization in Ancient India," says :—

"Parásara is admittedly one of the latest of the Dharma Shástras of the Pauranik age. The compiler himself informs us (I, 23) that Manu was for the Satya Yuga, Gautama for Trétiá Yuga, Sankha and Likhíta were for Dvápára Yuga, and Parásara is for the present Kali Yuga. We have an allusion to the Hindu Trinity (I, 19), and allusion to the self-immolation of widows (IV, 28 and 29). Nevertheless widow marriage was prevalent even in this late age, and Parásara allows a woman to marry again, if her husband is not heard of or is dead, if he has become an ascetic, or an outcast, or is impotent (IV, 26). The work is divided into twelve chapters, and has nearly six hundred couplets"—Dutt's "Ancient India," Vol. III, page 290.

We have said that the classification called the Nava-Sáyaka, even if it had been effected by Parásara (whoever he was), is incongruous, as denoting nine classes of people who all belong to one caste. We can well understand that nine classes of people assembled under one banner to help Parasuráma, a Bráhmána in extirpating the Kshatriya race, who, flushed with kingly power, had become too proud and insolent towards the sacerdotal caste, and had even the audacity to put to death one of them. The Vaisyas, and the Súdras, who equally revered the Bráhmanas, did unite together to avenge the death of a high-caste Bráhmána ; but it is a piece of arrogance and folly to treat them as belonging to the same caste, as much as if all the

* Parasuráma is considered the sixth of the ten *Avatáras* (Incarnations) of Vishnu and flourished in the Treta Yuga. Rájá Rámachandra, the seventh Incarnation of Vishnu, crushed the pride of Parasuráma when he challenged the young hero, who had first obtained the hand of the lovely Sitá by breaking the unwieldy bow of Hara or Mahádeva which none could twang before. The Mahábhárata tells us that Vishma, one of the heroes, who signalized himself in the Kuru-Pándava war, which was fought about the end of the Dvápára Yuga, measured strength with Parasuráma, who was very much pleased with the military tactics of Vishma. Karṇa, another hero of the same war, learnt under disguise all sorts of destructive weapons and arms from Parasuráma. The anachronism of different incidents in the life of Parasuráma is thus too patent to require a laboured demonstration.

members of the present Indian Congress were spoken of as of the same caste. We have seen before that the Gôpa (admittedly the Sadgôpa) of the couplet is a pure Vaisya. We have also proved that the Tantrî (Tantuvâya of Manu) is also a Vaisya. We have also admitted that the Karmakâra comes under Manu's classification of Vaisya. The rest, *viz*:—

Mâli or Mâlâkara	...	Making garlands and providing flowers for the service of Hindu temples.
Taili, commonly called Teli	...	Oil manufacturer.
Modaka, commonly called Mayrá	...	Confectioner.
Baruji or Barui	...	Cultivation of piper betel ordinarily known as Pân (Sanskrit Parna), the leaf <i>par excellence</i> .
Kulâla, called also Kumbhâkâra or Kumar	...	Pottery.
Nápita	...	Barber.

may be considered for the present as originally belonging to the Sûdra caste.

The couplet quoted in the 'Sabdakalpadruma' is of doubtful origin. We have not found it in Parâsara; but, as the Râjâ had to rely on pandits for the compilation of his lexicography, he cannot be held responsible for its authenticity or genuineness. For our own part, we believe that, when the Vaisyas of Bengal were reduced to the level of the Sûdras, either before or at the time of Ballâla, the couplet was prepared for the purpose of including the Vaisyas and the Sûdras in one category, and, as the Parâsara Sanhitâ governs the present Kali Yuga (though of course not in all respects), its authorship was ascribed to Parâsara. Pandit Lâlmohan Vidyânidhi also quotes the couplet in his 'Sambandhâ Nirnaya,' as a foot-note, in the page in which he treats the Nava-Sâyakas, but does not expressly say that it was quoted from Parâsara, though in the body of the article he refers the reader to the Parâsara Sanhitâ when alluding to the legend of Parasurâma. It seems as though he had some doubt regarding the authenticity of the couplet. He enumerates, however, the following classes of people as forming the Nava-Sâyaka group:—

1. Tili or Têli ... Dealing principally in grain.
2. Mâli .. Plucking flowers and making garlands.
3. Târûli .. Selling pân (betel leaf).
4. Gopa .. Cultivating soil.
5. { Napita .. Barber.
- { Madhunapit.. Preparing sweetmeats.

6. Gochhali ... Selling pán (betel leaf), and preparing pán or betel for chewing.
7. Kámár ... Preparing articles of iron.
8. Kumar ... Potter.
9. Puntuli ... Weaving, selling spices and drugs, dealing in *howries* or shells and conches, preparing articles of *kánsa* (a mixed metal). As all these articles are made into bundles (পুন্টুলি, *puntuli*) the common appellation of the classes of people dealing with them is পুন্টুলি *puntuli*. Kuri Mayra is also reckoned among the Puntulis.

We proceed to consider each of these classes of people who are now supposed to represent the Nava-Sáyaka group. The reader will at once perceive that they differ as respects certain classes from those mentioned in the couplet ascribed to Parásara which we have quoted before.

1. Tili or Teli. This is the Tailf of the couplet ascribed to Parásara, and is a large oil-pressing and trading caste of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. Their original profession was oil-pressing, but in process of time a good many of them became dealers in grain, leaving the oil-pressing work to Kalus, who occupy a very low position in society, and are considered as altogether a separate caste from the Telis. A further differentiation is in process of being matured, and those Telis who have grown rich, call themselves Tilis, and affect to be of a higher lineage. They are ashamed of their ancestral occupation of oil-pressing which they seek to conceal by adopting a different name, although they still retain the old family titles. The following extract from Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal," Vol. II, pages 306 and 307, concerning the internal structure of the Telis, will no doubt prove interesting to our readers :—

"Concerning the origin of the sub-castes, which bear the curious names of Ekádas and Dwádas Teli, an interesting legend is current. The father of all the Telis, it is said, was Manóhar Pál, a *beopari* or hawk, who travelled about selling various wares. He had two wives. While he was away on a journey, a rumour reached his home that he was dead. Thereupon the elder wife broke her ornaments and performed the rites appointed for a widow, but the younger wife disbelieved the tale. In fact, Manóhar Pál was not dead, and returned home after a few days. From the two wives sprang the two sub-castes in question. The Ekádas Teli are the descendants of the elder wife, and the Dwádas Teli of the younger. In memory of the elder wife breaking her ornaments on hearing of her husband's death, the Ekádas women do not wear nose-rings and do not tattoo their fore-

heads and arms. Each group claims precedence over the other. The Ekádas are of course the elder branch, and it is alleged, that they represent the original stock of the Teli caste, which is stated in the list given in the *Brahma-Vaivarta Purāna* to be derived from a Kumhār (potter) father and a mother of the builder caste, Kotak or Gharāni. It stands eleventh on the list, and this is the reason for the name, Ekádas. The Dwádas Teli, in their turn, while admitting the descent of the Ekádas from the elder wife of the founder of the caste, alleged that they have forfeited the precedence they might otherwise claim by submitting to be governed by *Parámaniks* in all matters relating to caste, and by sending women of the bride's family to accompany her on her first visit, after marriage, to her husband's house. Another queer custom of the Ekádas group forbids them to wear moustaches, but English education is said to be breaking this down."

The family titles of the Telis are—Chaudhuri, Dé, Dhabal, Kundu, Koleman, Mañdal, Masanta, Nandi, Pál, Parámanik, Parihar, Sadhukhán, Sháhá, Sit. Almost all the Telis follow Vaishnavism.

The position of the Telis was very low before the time of Krishna Kánta Nandi, better known as Kánta Babu,* the banyan of Warren Hastings. When the *Pándit*, or presiding priest of Jagannátha, refused to accept an *átka*, or assignment of the land for the maintenance of the poor, from his hands, Kánta Babu successfully appealed to the Pandits of Nadiya and Húghli, who held that the Teli, by using the balance *tula* in his trade, must necessarily belong to the Bania, a clean Súdra caste. Kánta Babu is said to have introduced the *nath*, or nose-ring, among the females of his caste, an ornament previously worn only by females of higher castes.†

2. Málí (Malakára) also finds a place in the couplet ascribed to Parásara. This caste is employed in making garlands and providing flowers for the service of Hindu temples. The Málákaras of Bengal profess to trace their descent from the garland-maker attached to the household of Rája Kansa, of Mathura, who, when asked, at once gave a chaplet of flowers to Sree Krishna. This claim may be admitted as correct. Málákaras were originally probably clean Súdras, who were attached to the houses of *Dvijas*, or twice-born persons. In process of time they differentiated into a separate caste. They are divided into two sub-castes, *viz.*, Phulkátá Málí and Dókáni Málí. The first make ornaments, toys, etc., from the pith of the *sola*, and the second keep shops. The Málákaras are an illiterate class of people, and their creed is Vaishnavism.

3. Támuli or Támli. The Támulis do not find a place in the couplet ascribed to Parásara, and yet they are now reckoned

* Great grandfather-in-law of the celebrated Maháráni Svarnamayi of Cossimbazar.

† See Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal," Vol. II, pages 309 and 310.

as one of the Nava-Sáyaka group. The Sanskrit word *Támbula* from which the name *Támbuli* (commonly called *Támuli* or *Támli*) has originated, means betel-leaf, and the original profession of the class may, therefore, be safely taken to be the selling of the betel-leaf. Originally, probably, they were *Bárujis*, or *Báruis*, mentioned in the couplet ascribed to *Parásara*, but, in process of time, by adopting a quite different profession, they differentiated into a separate class from the parent stock. The family titles of the *Támulis* are *Chaudhuri*, *Chail*, *Datta*, *Dé*, *Kar*, *Mallik*, *Pál*, *Panti*, *Rakshit*, *Sen*, *Singh*.

The *Támulis* of Bengal are divided into five sub-castes or *sháks*—*Saptagrám* or *Kusedáye*, *Ashtagrami* or *Kataki*, *Chaudagrámi*, *Biyallisgrámi*, and *Bardhamáni*. Their religion is *Vaishnavism*.

4. *Gópa*. The *Gópas*, who are categorised in the Nava-Sáyaka group are *Sadgópas*, who, as we have seen before, are pure *Vaisyas*.*

5. *Nápita*, including *Madhunápit*. This is the barber caste of Bengal, which finds a place also in the couplet ascribed to *Parásara*. The *Nápitas* of the present day represent the pure *Súdra* caste of *Manu*, who were enjoined to serve the *Dvijás* or twice-born classes, especially the *Bráhmanas*. In course of time they formed a separate caste. Their features are perfectly *Aryan*.

The family titles of the *Nápitas* are—*Bárik*, *Bhándári*, *Baidya*,† *Chandra-Baidya*,† *Dás*, *Jáidár*, *Khyaurakár*, *Khán*, *Nara-Sundar*, *Nandí*, *Parámanik*, *Síl*, *Biswás*, *Mazumdár*, *Mandal*, *Sháhá*, *Sarkár*, *Shikdár*.

The *Nápita* is an indispensable member of Hindu society, and his presence is required at every wedding ceremony in Bengal. In the village community he plays an important part in the *dala-dali* affair. When a member of the community is made an *eka-gharia*, or an outcaste, the *Nápita* will never shave him until he is again admitted as a member. The *Nápita* is always remarkable for his shrewdness. He is proverbially a cunning fellow. In many places, he practises surgery, and prescribes medicines.

The customs and usages of the *Nápitas* are the same as those of the other classes of the Nava-Sáyaka group, and they generally follow *Vaishnavism*.

Madhunápit—The origin of this branch caste dates from the

* These titles are borne by *Nápitas*, who practise medicine.

time of Chaitanya.* A barber, named Madhu, was called in to shave the head of Chaitanya, on the occasion of his becoming a *Sannyāsī*. Having performed his function, the man asked to be released from his hereditary profession as a barber. Chaitanya granted his request, and ordered him to prepare sweetmeats. His descendants are known as Madhunápit, who carry on the profession of Mayrá (confectioner). "The Madhunápit," says Dr. Wise, "is the most respected confectioner in Eastern Bengal."†

The Madhunapits regard themselves as distinct from the Modaka (Mayrá), although they carry on the profession of confectioner. They are most numerous in Eastern Bengal, and are Vaishnavas by creed.

6. Gochhálí—In the Parásara couplet we have the Báruji or Báruí, and no mention is made of the Támuli, as stated before. There does not appear to be any difference between a Báruí and a Gochhálí, for, while the former cultivates *pán*, the latter does the same, and sells it in open market.

* Chaitanya, the great Nadiá reformer of Bengal, was born of Bráhmans parents at Nadiá in A.D. 1487. His father was Jagannátha Misra and mother was Sachi Dēvi. In his childhood he passed for a naughty fellow indeed. But he soon became a profound Sanskrit scholar and opened a *śálo* where pupils gathered daily to receive instructions in grammar, literature, logic, rhetoric, &c. He was then known as Nimai Pandit. After his initiation by Isvarapuri, he became a zealous advocate of the creed of Vaishnavism as promulgated in the Bhágavata Purána, and preached the grand doctrine that *Bhakti* (faith (?)) was the quintessence of all religion. The great Pandits of Nadiá, who looked upon him as a silly fellow at first, were all discomfited by him in open discussion, and his fame as a giant Pandit soon went abroad. Once at a time, a big *Digvijayi* Pandit having vanquished all the Pandits of Bháratvarsa came to Nadiá in pomp and pageantry with numerous followers to humble the pride of the Nadiá Pandits. The Pandits all trembled at his appearance, but Chaitanya appeared before him with his disciples, and very respectfully asked him to describe *ex tempore* in verses, the glory and greatness of the mighty Ganga. It was a moonlight night, and the sacred river was passing below the ghát in a murmuring stream. The *Digvijayi* Pandit poured out verses like a hill-stream in the rainy season for about an hour. When he stopped, Chaitanya praised him very much, but added that some of the verses were open to criticism according to the rules of grammar and rhetoric. He pointed out the blemishes with such eloquence and force that the *Digvijayi* Pandit stood aghast not knowing what to do or what reply to give in turn. His discomfiture was complete in an instant. Chaitanya had previously warned his disciples not to ridicule or in any way to put him to shame. The *Digvijayi* Pandit passed a painful night, and next morning fell at the feet of Chaitanya, who soothed him in his mortification and impressed on his mind that the true end of learning is unreserved devotion to Hari. The *Digvijayi* Pandit, dismissing all pomp and array of learning, became an humble disciple of Chaitanya. The preachings of Chaitanya were at once forcible and touched the very heart of the audience. Persons, who came with an intent to ridicule, annoy, or persecute him, went like children, after hearing his discourses, and turned the very moment his devoted followers. Wherever he went he conquered. His followers are found at this day in every part of India, from the cloud-piercing Himalayas on the north, to Setubandha-Kámesvara on the south, and from the hills of Manipur in the east to the mighty Indus on the west. Chaitanya held that every human being, be he a Bráhmans or a Chandála had a right to worship the great and mighty Hari. A number of *Yavanas* or Mahomedans reckoned among his followers. He was not a respecter of caste.

† See Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal" Vol. II, page 27.

Probably the 'Báruis have differentiated, some into Támulis and others into Gochhális.

7. Kámár (Karmakára) is mentioned in the Parásara couplet as one of the Nava-Sáyaka group. But we have seen before that they were originally Vaisyas.

Kámárs are distinguished from the Lokárs by not confining themselves to the fabrication of iron implements, and by having no scruples about working with any kind of metal. In Midnapore, for instance, there are eight classes of Kámárs, viz., the *Lohár*-Kámárs, who work in iron; *Pitule*-Kámárs, who make brass utensils; *Kánsáris*, who work in bell-metal; * *Svarna*-Kámárs, or working goldsmiths; *Ghatra*-Kámárs, who make imitation fruits, iron figures of birds, &c.; and *Chand*-Kámárs, whose speciality is manufacture of brass mirrors. There are two other classes, who are reckoned unclean, and are served by a degraded class of Bráhmanas. Of these groups, the first two intermarry, while the rest are endogamous. The sub-castes of Kámárs vary in different places. We are not quite certain as to which of these classes represent the true Vaisya caste, and which of them have sprung up in later times as functional groups, and are styled Kámárs on account of the profession. The Svarnakárs, who are undoubtedly of mixed origin, are ever held in contempt throughout Bengal,† but in Midnapore they find a place among the Kámárs, who are treated as one of the Nava-Sáyaka group. The Svarnakárs are wholly distinct from the Suvarnavaniks, who never work in metal themselves. They are divided into four sub-castes, Brahman-Desi, Dakshin-Ráhi, Khatangi, and Uttar-Ráhi.

The Lohárs are the blacksmith caste of Behar, Chota Nagpore and Western Bengal. The Kanaujia sub-caste claim to be the highest in rank.

8. Kumár (Kumbhakára) is the potter-caste of Bengal, and is mentioned in the Parásara-couplet as Kulála, which is a synonym for Kumbhakára. The Kumárs are undoubtedly of Aryan origin, and the creation of this class is coeval with the first formation of Aryan society. Concerning their origin, much confusion prevails. Sir Monier Williams, in his Sanskrit Dictionary, describes them as 'the offspring of a Kshatriya woman by a Bráhmana, but this is a pure myth, which has no foundation at all. The offspring of a Bráhmana by a Kshatriya woman is, according to the Sahyádríkhanda of the Skanda Purána,‡ a Murdhabhisikta (anointed on the head), a Bájanya

* Kánsáris, or Kánsyavaniks, as we have seen before are a class of Vaniks, and as such are Vaisyas.

† See Brahma-Vaivarta Purána. Also "Calcutta Review" No. XXIX, Vol. XV. (January to June 1851), article "Hindu Caste."

‡ See Wilson's "Indian Caste," Vol. I, page 55.

(of princely descent), reckoned higher in religion than a Kṣatriya. Kullūka Bhatta, the commentator of Manu, says it is Murdhavasikta, and, according to the authority of Usanasa, the profession of the Murdhavasikta class is (হস্তশিল্পশিক্ষা) a knowledge of the management of elephants, horses, and chariots and also of arms. The profession clearly refers to the military class, and cannot be that of poor potters. According to the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāna, the Kumbhakāra is the offspring of Visvakarmā (celestial artificer) by a Sūdra woman.* This Purāna, as we have seen elsewhere, is, of recent origin, and cannot be relied on as an authority. Even granting that it is a Purāna of long standing, what sensible or reasonable man would believe in the myth promulgated in it? But nevertheless these myths have some value attached to them. They afford excellent evidence of the cunning of the Brāhmanas, who, while treating the potters as of mixed caste, sedulously abstain from assigning them a rational origin, as a cross between a male of one caste and a female of another, and promulgates the theory of a divine origin to please them, and thereby secure their own priestcraft. The potter, illiterate as he is, believes that he is the offspring of a god, and thinks that his status in society is sufficiently secured to enable him to carry on his service to the community with cheerfulness. The Brāhmanas gain their object, and the potters are pleased. This remark applies with equal force to the Mālākāra, Karmakāra; Shankhakāra, Kuvindika, Kansakāra, Suterkāra, Chitrakara, and Svarnakāra, all of whom are said in the above-named Purāna to be the offspring of Visvakarma by a Sūdra woman.† But is it a fact that the potters are really of mixed class? We can hardly believe this to be the case. Mr. Dutt, in his "History of Civilization in Ancient India" (Vol. III, pages 74 and 75), states that the potters belonged to the Vaisya caste, and, we think, with reason. But, as Manu's definition of the term, 'Vaisya' (See previous part of this article), does not include pottery, we do not feel ourselves justified in including the potters in the Vaisya class. The claim of the potters to Vaisyism must, therefore, remain an open question for the present.

According to the Parāsara Sanhitā, the Kumbhakāra is the offspring of a Mālākāra by a Chāmār woman, while the Parāsara Paddhati holds that the ancestor of the caste was begotten of a Tili woman, by a Pattikār, or weaver of silk

* In his "Tribes and Castes of Bengal" (Vol. I, page 517) Mr. Risley's assertion that the Kumbhakāra, according to the Brahma-Vaivarta Purāna, is born of a Vaisya woman, by a Brāhmana father, is incorrect. That Purāna does not say so.

† See Risley's "Tribes and Castes in Bengal," Vol. I, page 518.

cloth.* The *Parásura Sanhitá* is admittedly the latest *Dharma Shástra* of the *Pauranik* age; and cannot be relied upon, like *Manu*, as an authority on the question. Moreover, its theory clashes with the divine origin of the potters, as promulgated in the *Brahma Vaivartta Purána*. It does not stand to reason that the son of a *Málákara*, by a *chámár* woman, should be found capable of producing pottery of all sorts, the manufacture of which, no doubt, requires a good deal of skill and knowledge, nor is it credible that the offspring of a *chámár* woman should have been allowed to manufacture pottery, which is a necessity of the Hindu kitchen. The *Kumbhakáras* existed long before the formation of any mixed caste. The *Parásara Páddhati* is a spurious mushroom publication of recent origin, and must be laid aside as unworthy of acceptance.

The *Kumárs* are an industrious and useful class of people, and their women are always found ready to assist them in their work. They always lead a simple life, and their favourite religion is *Vashnavism*.

The family titles of the *Kumárs* are :—*Behará*, *Biswás*, *Dás*, *Deuri*, *Kunkál*, *Máhati*, *Májhi*, *Marar*, *Marik*, *Mehrána*, *Pál*, *Rána*.

The *Kumárs* have a tradition that their ancestor was one *Rudra Pál*, who was created by *Síva*, to make a water-jar (*ghata*) for him at his marriage.

9.—*Puntuli*. This is the most ingenious device of modern times to pack up in one bundle a number of several respectable professions. It does not occur in the *Parásara-couplet*. The term *Puntuli* is said to include the following classes of people :—†

1. Those who practise weaving.
2. Those who trade in spices and drugs.
3. Those who trade in shells and conches.
4. Those who deal in *Kánsá*, a mixed metal.
5. *Kuri Mayrá* (confectioner).

The reason assigned by *Pandit Lál-mohan* for including these classes of people in one group is that their trade, obliges them to make up bundles of articles prepared for sale (*puntuli*, or *póntla*, meaning a bundle). The term *Puntuli* is a synonym of *Gandhavanik*, and has been artfully extended to include

* "In describing the origin of the mixed classes of mankind, this work (the *Brahma-Vaivartta Purána*, *Brahma Kánda*) contains a peculiar legend, which makes a certain number of them the issue of the divine architect, *Visvakarmá*, by *Ghrítachi*, a nymph of heaven. The chapter often occurs as a separate treatise, under the title of *Játi-nirṇaya*, and is considered as an authority of some weight, with respect to the descent of the mixed tribes, although of a purely legendary character."—"Analysis of the *Puránas*, by H. H. Wilson. See *Asiatic Society's Journal*, Vol. I, page 220.

† See "*Sambandha-Nirṇaya*," by *Pandit Lál-mohan Vidyanidhi*.

other-classes of people, who are not Puntulis, so as to make room for those who were not reckoned as of the Nava-Sáyaka group, when the couplet ascribed to Parásara was framed. We have no objection to calling the Gandhavaniks Puntulis, on account of the bundles which they always make of articles which they sell. But there is a very strong objection to including under the term other classes of people who do not properly come under it. The term exclusively refers to the Gandhavaniks, and cannot by any forced interpretation be justly held to apply to other classes of people. Pandit Lalmohan has failed to point this out in his treatise, "*Sambandha-Nirnaya*," and his mistake is inexcusable, as an author of his position, with a good knowledge of the Sanskrit language and vernacular literature, should have taken care, before giving currency to a vulgar and incorrect expression.

Now, the question which here arises is, who were the nine classes of people who helped Parasuráma in extirpating the Kshatriya race off the face of the earth. If the nine classes of people mentioned in the Parásara-couplet, quoted in the '*Sabdakalpadruma*', correctly enumerate them, why should a different classification have been adopted by Pandit Lalmohan? That every particular province has its own Nava-Sakhas (correctly Nava-Sáyakas)* must be admitted. In Eastern Bengal, for instance, the following nine classes of people are held pure according to the classification of Ballála:—†

Sákhári	Kumár	Gop-Goálá
Tánti	Málákar	Madhu-Nápit
Kámár	Nápit	Baoái

Then, again, we have several other couplets like the Parásara-couplet current in different parts of the country, in which different classes of people are called Nava-Sáyakas. The following are some of those with which we have come across:—

(1)—তৈলী গোপসুখা মালী তামূলী বৃণিক্ বারুজী ।

কুম্ভকারঃ কৰ্ম্মকারঃ নাপিতোঃ নবসায়কঃ ॥

Tailí, Gópa, Málí, Támbulí, Vanik, Barují, Kumbhakára, Karmákára, and Nápita, are Nava Sáyakas.

(2)—গোপালভৈলিকুম্ভদ্বী মালী শোদ্ধক বারুজীঃ ।

কুলালঃ কৰ্ম্মকুৎকুন্দো নবশাখা প্রকীর্তিতা ॥

Parásara-Sanhita, Jatimálá ‡

* Such is the ignorance which prevails over the country, that many of our Pandits do not know that the correct word is 'Nava-Sáyaka.' They accordingly confound it with the word 'Nava-Sakha' which means nine branches.

† See the article, "The Hindus of Eastern Bengal," by the late Dr. James Wise, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. LXII, Part III, No. 1, 1893.

‡ Edited by Kailás Chandra Bandopádhyaya.

Gopála (Gópa), (Taili), Tantri, Máli, Modaká, Báruji, Kulála, Karmakrit (Karmakára), Kunda are known as Nava-Sákhá (mark the word used here is Nava Sákhá.)

(3)—মালিকারঃ কর্মকারঃ শঙ্খকারঃ কুম্ভকারঃ ।

কুস্তকারঃ কংসকারঃ এতেষট্ শিল্পিনোবিরাঃ ।

সুত্রধারশ্চিৎরকঃ স্বর্ণকারস্তথৈবচ ।

গেগেকল্পশ্চ বিজ্ঞয়ো নবশাখঃ প্রকীৰ্ত্তিতঃ ।

Málákara, Karmakára, Sankhakára, Kāvindaka, Kumbhakára, Kansakára—these six are higher class artizans; while Sutradhára, Chitrakára, and Svarnakára are low class artizans,—all these together are known as Nava Sákhá." (mark the word used here is Nava-Sákhá).

- All the couplets just quoted are of very recent origin, and framed by some puny Pandits, with a smattering knowledge of the Sanskrit language, as the loose, unchaste versification and the use of the term 'Nava-Sákhá' instead of 'Nava-Sáyaká,' in two of them, amply prove. But, nevertheless; they are accepted as genuine in certain parts of the country, and therefore we have taken the trouble of quoting them to prove them to be spurious. A table is subjoined showing in juxtaposition the nine classes of people as (1) enumerated in the Parásara-couplet, (2) accepted in Eastern Bengal, as stated in Dr. Wise's article alluded to before, (3) mentioned by Pandit Lálmohan in his 'Sambandha-Nirnaya,' (4) stated in couplet No. 1, (5) stated in couplet No. 2, and (6) stated in couplet No. 3. It is to be understood that the names running horizontally in the six columns indicate the same class of people, though a different synonym is sometimes used.

(As in Pará- (As in East- (As in Pandit (As in couplet (As in couplet (As in couplet
sara couplet) ern Bengal in Lálmohan's No. 2.) No. 2.) No. 3.)
Dr. Wise's
article.)
treatise.)

Gópa	.....	Gópa	Gópa	Gópála	...
Máli	Málákara	Máli	Máli	Máli	Málákara
Taili	.....	Taili	Taili	Tailika	...
Tantri	Tantri	.....	Tantri	Tantri	Kuwindaka
Modaka	.....	.....	.....	Mólaka	...
Báruji	.....	.....	Báruji	Báruji	...
Kulála	Kumár	Kumár	Kumbhakára	Kulála	Kumbhakára
Karmakára	Kámár	Kámár	Karmakára	Karmakrit	Karmakára
Nápita	Nápita	Nápita	Nápita	Kunda	...
...	.....	Táulí	Tambuli	...	...
...	.....	Gocháli	.....	...	...
...	.....	Puntuli	.....	...	...
...	Sáukháli	.....	...	...	Sankhakára
...	.....	...	...	...	Kansakára
...	.....	...	...	...	Sútradhára
...	.....	...	...	...	Chitrakára
...	.....	...	...	...	Svarnakára
...	Gope-Góla	.....	...	...	...
...	Máhu Napit	.....	...	...	...
...	Baohi	.....	...	...	...
...	.....	.....	Vanik	...	...

This table at once shows that it is not exactly known who the nine classes of people are that helped Parasurāma in his crusades against the Kshatriyas. Nos. 1 and 5 agree in enumerating the nine classes; the others differ more or less from the rest and from one another. The term 'Puntuli' does not occur in any, except in Pandit Lālmohan's treatise, and is said to include at least five different classes of people as shown before. In course of time other classes of people might find entrance into it, and the Pundit may live long enough to swell his list of Puntulis by the addition of a few more classes. At present he might befittingly include those Brāhmanas who are called Yajmene-Brāhmanas, who perform Pújā from house to house and from temple to temple, make a bundle (*pontla*) of rice, plantain, *sandesh*, &c., that fall to their share, in their *gamchha* (napkin) and sell them in the market! The couplet ascribed to Parāsara appears to be the oldest of all the couplets quoted by us, and was framed with the special object of putting down people of the Vaisya caste, who were once the pride and backbone of Hindu society. The degradation of the Vaisyas to a level with servile and mixed classes is one of the causes of the hopeless downfall of the country in every respect.

Another question which arises in connection with the Nava-Sáyaka group is, why this classification should prevail in Bengal only. We do not meet with it either in the North-Western Provinces, or in the Punjab, in the Central Provinces, or in the Deccan. Even in Behar, which is contiguous to Bengal, the classification does not obtain at all. It is a curious fact that the nine classes of people categorised as 'Nava-Sáyaka,' who helped Parasurāma in his engagements against the Kshatriyas, should be found only in a country the soil of which was never trodden by his sacred feet, and which probably did not exist at all in his time, but formed a part of the sea. Is it that the descendants of those helpmates of Parasurāma have all in a body left the scene of Parasurāma's heroism, and emigrated to the Lower Provinces, carrying with them the common designation of 'Nava-Sáyaká? Or are we to go up to the reign of that ill-fated monarch of Bengal upon whose head the Kulin Brāhmana women pour out daily heaps of curses and anathemas, and whose name will be cited with scorn by every right-minded writer of the history of Bengal, and of Bengali society, for a solution of the question? Yes, the Nava-Sáyaka group is the creation of his caprice, like the ill-fated Kulinism of Bengal. Ballála instituted the accursed *Kulinism*. Ballála reduced the social status of the Suvarnavaniks. Ballála divested the other Vaisya classes of their Vaisyaism. Ballála raised the social status of the Káyasthas.

Ballála created the Nava-Sáyaka group. Ballála paved the way for the ruin of the country !

Pandit Lálmohan divides the Súdras into the four following classes :—

1. Sat Súdras (সৎসূত্র) including the Káyasthas and the Nava-Sáyakas,
2. Jalácharaniya Súdras (জল আচরণীয় সূত্র), or Sudras, from whom Bráhmanas and members of the other higher castes can take water.
3. Jalavyavahárya Súdras (জল ব্যবহার্য্য সূত্র), or Súdras, from whose hand a Bráhmana cannot take water.
4. Asprishya Súdras (অস্পৃশ্য সূত্র), or Súdras whose touch is so impure as to pollute even Ganges water.

We do not know on what authority the Pandit accepts this classification, which is not met with either in Manu, or in any other lawgiver, nor does the Pandit clearly tell us what class, or classes of persons are included, at least, under heads 2, 3 and 4. From the subsequent pages following his chapter on the Súdras, we conclude, however, that the Kaivarttas, and Goálás are included under head 2, the Suvarnavarniks and Svarnakárs (Shekrás) under head 3, and the low mixed classes, such as Aguris, Koles, Sundis, &c., under head 4. If what we gather from the Pandit's writings is correct, we object to his classification as being unauthorised and therefore unjust and improper, for the Káyasthas, as we shall show, are not strictly speaking Súdras, but born of a Vaisya father and a Súdra mother ; the so-called Nava-Sáyakas are, as we have seen, some Vaisyas and some Súdras, the Kaivarttas and Goálás, as we shall show hereafter, belong to the mixed classes, the Suvarnavarniks are pure Vaisyas, though boycotted by a stupid monarch, and the Aguris, Koles, Sundis, &c., are low mixed classes of people. The Pandit, like many of his class, either betrays a sad want of knowledge of the true origin of the various castes that compose Hindu society in Bengal, or makes a wilful suppression of facts. A writer, like him, with a good knowledge of the Sanskrit language and literature, should have aimed at precision, and not have perpetuated wild theories and inconsistent ideas as he has done in his treatise. We hope he will rectify his errors in a subsequent edition of his work.

The so-called Nava-Sáyaka group, then, is a meaningless classification introduced in the time of Ballála to include under one head the Vaisyas and Súdras, so that the Bráhmanas and the Vaidyas might remain the only high-caste people in Bengal. The Káyasthas were not included in the Nava-Sáyaka group,

but they and the Nava-Sáyakas were allowed to form the Sat-Súdra class in this country, and as they (the Káyasthas) had enlisted the sympathy of the Bráhmanas, by serving them and proclaiming themselves their humble and obedient servants, they thought themselves superior to the Nava-Sáyakas, upon whom they looked down with a sort of prideful contempt. But the Váisyas, who were forcibly classified with the Súdras, strenuously maintained their position as Vaisyas, and always refused to mix socially in the matters of eating and drinking with the Súdras. Relying on their high birth, they pursued their avocation, without seeking for royal favours from the hands of Ballála and without caring for the classification made by him. But the classification made by Ballála had one baneful effect—at least on certain illiterate Vaisyas, such as the Karma-karas,—*viz.*, that in process of time these forgot their Vaisya origin, and thought themselves to be real Súdras. The Suvarnavaniks were degraded from their high position, and were looked upon as sinners unworthy to be touched. The Sad-gópas and the Tantuváyas were nominally classed in the Nava-Sáyaka group, for they maintained and still maintain their position as Vaisyas. It is only the Málákaras, the Tailis, the Modakas, the Bárujis, the Kulalas, and the Nápitás, who were probably glad to be enrolled as members of the Nava-Sáyaka class.

It was impossible that this unjust classification, sanctioned by Ballála, should continue in its entirety throughout all ages and in every province of Bengal. The Gandhavaniks, the Sankhavaniks, the Kánsyavaniks, &c., who were at first overlooked when the Nava-Sáyaka group was created, submitting to the stern decree of fate, but never forgetting their Vaisya origin, pressed their claim to be enrolled among the Nava-Sáyakas, and the wily Bráhmanas found out a ready means of satisfying their claim by including them and the Tantris and Kuri Mayrás under one common sub-head—*Puntuli*—of which Ballála and his counsellors had no idea. The *Puntuli* device is truly artful, for it has opened the door for other classes of people to be enrolled in it, from time to time, without exceeding the numerical strength of the Nava-Sáyaka group.

The classification made by Ballála, while it lowered the status of the Vaisyas, had the effect of instilling into the minds of the Súdras, who were ranked in the same class with the Vaisyas, a sort of pride and a sense of dignified position. There were not wanting Súdras who at once availed themselves of this opportunity to usurp the professions of the Vaisyas, and to compete with them in open market. The mixed classes especially assumed an appearance of arrogance towards the Vaisyas, who were no longer treated with the

honour due to their position. Ballála's classification set the seal to what was begun before his time in the shape of persecution against Buddhism, which had no doubt been adopted by a majority of the Vaisyas. Ballála immortalized himself by effecting the complete downfall of the Vaisyas, who were the corner stone of Hindu society, and then proclaiming that there were no Vaisyas in the *Kali Yuga*, but only Súdras and mixed classes!

The Súdras of the present day are no longer the Súdras of the time of Manu. In the primitive state of Aryan society, the servile class was formed with a view to minister to the twice-born classes, especially the Bráhmanas. We have said before that the reason why Manu banished them to a degraded position cannot be ascertained with any degree of certainty. Perhaps the structure and economy of society required that there should be a fourth class to serve the three higher classes, and this supposition accords with reason. With the expansion of society, when the Súdras no longer found it convenient to live in the same house with their masters, they adopted several petty professions. Some became *barbers*, some *mlá-karas*, some *modakas* and some betel leaf cultivators; some adopted the professions of painting, masonry, joining, engraving, &c., while the rest were content to live in the same house with their masters, or separately. Up to the time of Ballála, they retained their position as the lowest class of Hindu society. During the time of Ballála, the Vaisyas were formally degraded by unjust enactments passed by that monarch to a level with the Súdras, though, in point of fact, this degradation was only in name, for Ballála did not force them to mix socially with the Súdras, as by receiving or giving away of daughters. The Vaisyas were, therefore, in a position to retain their status as Vaisyas, though they had to give up their thread, and to adopt certain rites and observances prescribed for the Súdras. The real Súdras hailed the day when the name of Vaisya was obliterated, and then they began to adopt professions of the Vaisyas, to treat them with contempt, and to usurp nominally their social status. But it was impossible, in a society like that of the Hindus, that anything like a fusion should take place between the Vaisyas and the Súdras, who up to date remain as separate as the heavens and the earth. The mere classification of the one with the other, without intermarriage, could not efface the Vaisya class, and the Súdras, whatever their occupation or wealth may be, are Súdras for ever.

THE MIXED CASTES.

In the preceding pages we have considered the four pure castes into which the Aryans were divided and which still

continue to be the main divisions of Hindu society in Bengal. We have shown that, in the primitive state of Aryan society, the Aryans were all of one caste, or, more correctly, there was no distinction of caste among them, such as we find in later times. We have no authentic history to tell with precision when the Aryans were first divided into castes, but have reason to believe that the institution of caste among them is not so modern as is sometimes supposed. The castes which were naturally formed among the Aryans became in process of time crystallized into a hereditary right, though at first it was never intended that it should be so. Manu allowed, with certain restrictions, a Bráhmāna, a Kshatriya, or a Vaisya, to marry females of the castes below. His law on the fiction of a Súdra becoming Bráhmāna, and *vice versa*, which we quote below, is truly ingenious:—

শূদ্রায়া ব্রাহ্মণাজাতঃ প্ত্রেয়সাচেৎপ্রকায়তে ।
 অপ্ত্রেয়াহ্মৈরসীং ক্রাতিং গচ্ছত্যসত্ত্বমাহ্ময়াগাৎ ।
 শূদ্রো ব্রাহ্মণভামেতি ব্রাহ্মণশ্চৈতি শূদ্রভাম্ ।
 কত্রিয়াজাতমেব বিদ্যা বৈশ্যাস্তথৈব চ ॥

Manu, Chap. X, verses 64 and 65.

"If (a female of the caste), sprung from a Bráhmāna and a Súdra female, bear (children) to one of the highest caste, the inferior (tribe) attains the highest caste within the seventh generation.

"(Thus) a Súdra attains the rank of a Bráhmāna, and (in a similar manner) a Bráhmāna sinks to the level of a Súdra; but know that it is the same with the offspring of a Kshatriya or of a Vaisya."—*Bühler's translation, edited by F. Max Müller, Oxford, 1886.*

To make this translation more clear to our readers, we give here the English translation of the views of Manu's commentators on the point as given by Bühler:—

"If the daughter of a Bráhmāna and of a Súdra female and her descendants all marry Bráhmanas, the offspring of the sixth female descendant of the original couple will be a Bráhmāna."—*Medhatithi, Govindarāma, Kullúka Bhatta, and Raghava.*

"If the son of a Bráhmāna and of a Súdra female and his descendants marry Súdra wives, the seventh descendant will be a pure Súdra."—*Medhatithi, Govindarāma, and Kullúka Bhatta.*

"The offspring of a Bráhmāna and a Kshatriya female obtains the higher or lower rank in the third generation, and that of a Bráhmāna and Vaisya female in the fifth."—*Medhatithi Govindarāma and Kullúka Bhatta.*

This law is obsolete at present. It was enacted at a time when the Aryans were a free nation, and it ceased with the extinction of freedom.

Manu's account of the origin of the mixed castes is, we believe, at once rational and correct. He promulgated his laws for the economy and government of a nation. His laws

tied down the Aryans from time immemorial, and still govern Hindu society in all its different phases. The legislators who succeeded him, followed in his foot-steps in a body, and never enacted anything diametrically opposed to his laws. It is true that some of his laws have become obsolete, but the fundamental principles of the laws enunciated by him always permeate subsequent legislation. The transfer of the destiny of the country to foreign power has rendered his criminal laws inoperative, but the law of inheritance and succession, as enacted by him and as propounded by other legislators, still holds good in all essential points. Yajñavalkya, Jimútaváhana and Raghunandana, have all based their legislation on Manu, and have only introduced additions or modifications to suit the particular locality for which each of them propounded the law. Manu's authority has never been questioned by any subsequent legislator or reformer, and his account of the origin of the mixed castes has always been accepted as correct.

But Manu's account of the origin of the mixed castes has been criticised in a very illiberal spirit, and ridiculed and treated with contempt by some writers of the present day, especially by Mr. Romesh Chunder Dutt, of the Bengal Civil Service. In his treatise entitled "A History of Civilization in Ancient India," he passes the following sharp criticism :—

"This intelligible and historical origin of the caste-system was entirely lost sight of or ignored in the Rationalistic Period, and a theory was sought for and obtained which made each caste distinct from the rest by its very origin and inherent formation ! The strange fiction was then conceived that the different castes were created by a sort of permutation and combination among the men and women of the few parent castes ! A child of twelve would hardly accept it as true, if he was told, that the Medical Profession of Modern Europe, for instance, has sprung up from a Valiant Knight of the Middle Ages, who once took a fancy to a barber's pretty maiden ; or that modern novelists are descended from a Monkish scribe, who once upon a time left the convent fascinated by the merry glances of a Troubadour's daughter ! Strange, ridiculous, childish as such a theory is, it has been scrupulously adhered to in India by Manu and all the later legal writers, and obtains credence to the present day."—*Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. II, pages 70 and 71.*

And further we have another poetical effusion :—

"Upholders of the modern caste-system seek to identify Vaidyas with the Ambasthas of the ancient Sūtra writers, and of Manu and Yajñavalkya. The Ambasthas are described by Vasistha as a mixed caste, a cross between Brāhmanas and Kshatriyas, and by Manu and Yajñavalkya as a cross between Brahmanas and Vaisyas ; and Manu further adds that the Ambasthas practised medicine. On this slender ground the modern Vaidyas are all identified with this mixed caste,—as if the Aryan Hindus did not practise the healing art, until amorous Brāhman youths pursued and embraced girls of a humbler class,—as if the science of medicine was unknown among Aryan Hindus, until

the production of a hybrid mixed caste! The modern reader will brush aside such idle myths, and will unhesitatingly recognize the fact that the modern Vaidyas are descended from the ancient Aryan people, —the Vaisyas, and have formed a separate caste, because they have followed a separate profession.”—*Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III, pages 314 and 315.**

Respecting the origin of the Chandálas, Mr. Dutt has the following words to say:—

“And how was this race formed? Manu has it that they are the issues of Bráhmāna women, who yielded themselves to the embraces of Súdras. As the numbers of Bráhmanas in South-Eastern Bengal was never very large in olden times, and does not even in the present day come to even a quarter of a million in the five districts named above,* it is difficult to account for the presence of a million Chandálas in those districts on Manu's theory. Shall we suppose that, fair-skinned Bráhmāna Desdemonas habitually bestowed their hands on swarthy Súdra swains? Shall we suppose that beauteous but frail Bráhmāna matrons were seduced from their lords—by the hundred thousand,—by gay Súdra Lotharios intent on creating a new caste? And shall we further suppose that the children begotten of such unions thrived and multiplied in marshes and fishing villages, amidst toil and privations,—more than true-born Bráhmāna children basking in the sunshine of royal favour and priestly privileges? We have only to state such suppositions to show their utter absurdity; and with these suppositions, Manu's theory of mixed castes is brushed aside to the region of myths and nursery-tales! Commonsense will tell every reader, who knows anything of the Chandálas of Bengal, that they were the primeval dwellers of South-Eastern Bengal, and lived by fishing in its numerous creeks and channels, and they naturally adopted the religion, the language, and the civilization of the Hindus, when the Aryans came and colonized Bengal.”—*Dutt's Ancient India, Vol. III, pages 156 and 157.*

Enough! “There are more things in heaven and earth, Horatio, than are dreamt of in your philosophy.” If the different castes were not “created by a sort of permutation and combination among the men and women of the few parent castes,” how were they created? Mr. Dutt's answer is that “in the Epic period the priests and warriors formed castes of their own; that the masses of the Aryan people remained Vaisyas; while the Hinduized non-Aryans were the Súdras.”† We are not satisfied with this vague answer. Mr. Dutt's supposition may be partially correct, but not completely. His grand mistake consists in thinking Manu to have legislated about two thousand years or so ago.* The metrical code of Manu may have been recast in its present form during the Buddhistic Period by Bhrigu or somebody else, but Manu himself is not so modern a character as Mr. Dutt would have us believe. It is probable that Manu's laws were handed down from generation to generation orally, until they were compiled

* Backergunj, Faridpur, Dacca, Jessore and Khulna.

† Dutt's *Ancient India*, Vol. II, page 70.

in the form in which we find them. We cannot conceive what object Manu, who promulgated laws for the government of a nation, had in enunciating a falsehood, if, as Mr. Dutt says, his theory of the mixed castes is a nursery-tale. Manu knew full well what he was about. He lived at a remote period of antiquity, when the Aryan nation had differentiated into four primary castes, and when the origin of the mixed castes was still fresh in the memory of everybody. Does Manu utter an absurdity when he says, that a Bráhmāna knew a Vaisya woman, and gave birth to a son who afterwards became the father of the Ambastha (Vaidya) race? Is it incredible that a Bráhmāna woman yielded to the embraces of a Súdra, and thus produced a son who afterwards became the founder of the great Chandála tribe of India? Is it necessary that from age to age the Bráhmāna women should habitually bestow their hands on Súdras to keep up the Chandála race? And is it not sufficient for one man to become the father of a nation, or a tribe? Did not Srí Krishna found the Yádava race, which multiplied even in his own lifetime like stars on the blue vault of the sky when the shades of night fall around? Did not the man from Ur of the Chaldees, Abram by name (afterwards Abraham), become the founder of the whole Jewish nation? And was not his son by Hagar, Sarah's maid, the father of the Ishmaelites? Does Mr. Dutt forget that Lot's two sons, by his two daughters, became respectively the fathers of the Moabites and the children of Ammon? Is it not a fact that the few White settlers of America have multiplied by millions in the short space of three hundred years, and filled the whole Continent from one end to the other? What was the number of the original Bráhmānas and Káyasthas, who came to Bengal at the invitation of Adisúra, and what is their present number? Are we to suppose, with Mr. Dutt, that, year after year, Bráhmānas and Káyasthas have migrated from the North-West to the Lower Provinces to keep up and swell the number of Bráhmānas and Káyasthas, so that their generation might not become extinct, and then pronounce that the tradition of the advent of the five Bráhmānas and five Káyasthas to Bengal is a myth? Mr. Dutt is at a loss to account for the multiplication of the Chandálas in marshes and fishing villages, amidst toil and privations. Is it not a law of nature that procreation is more fruitful in the humble cottage of penury and starvation than in the royal chamber? And who are those people who have constant recourse to the law of adoption to perpetuate the line on failure of male issue—the wealthy or the poor? Mr. Dutt himself acts like a child when he ignores these facts, and ridicules Manu and his theory (if it can be called a theory at all) in half-a-dozen sarcastic lines. Manu's plain statement

of the genesis of the Ambasthas is compared by Mr. Dutt with a hypothetical case of the medical profession of modern Europe springing from a Valiant Knight of the Middle Ages, who once took a fancy to a barber's pretty maiden. What, in the name of heavens and earth, has this hypothetical case to do with Manu's account of the origin of the Ambasthas or Vaidyas? The Vaidyas themselves acknowledge that they belong to the Ambastha race, and would not probably thank Mr. Dutt for representing them as other than what they really are. Every Muni (sage) has an opinion of his own, and why should Mr. Dutt not have one? But it is one thing to criticise a statement in a calm and liberal spirit, and it is quite another thing to decry a legislator whose laws have been accepted by millions of people (kings and warriors and sages included) from time immemorial down to the present day. The allusions to the Knight of the Middle Ages taking a fancy to the barber's pretty maiden, to the Monkish scribe fascinated by the merry glances of a Troubadour's daughter, and to the fair-skinned Bráhmāna Desdemonas habitually bestowing their hands on swarthy Súdra swains, or seduced from their lords by gay Súdra Lotharios, are unhappy and unworthy of the pen of a writer like Mr. Dutt. Mr. Dutt should remember who Manu was and what ample resources were at his command. He should remember also that Manu's laws still bind Hindu society, though an All-Wise Providence has been pleased to transfer the destiny of the millions of India to a foreign hand. Manu's account of the origin of the mixed castes is absolutely correct, and has been accepted as such for thousands of years, and it is hardly possible even for a writer like Mr. Dutt to brush it away to the region of myth and fairy tales. We hope Mr. Dutt will pardon us when we advise him to read the following few lines from Mr. Risley's treatise entitled, "The Tribes and Castes of Bengal":—

"Modern criticism has been specially active in its attacks on that portion of the traditional theory which derives the multitude of mixed or inferior castes from an intricate series of crosses between members of the original four. No one can examine the long lists which purport to illustrate the working of this process without being struck by much that is absurd and inconsistent. But in India it does not necessarily follow that, because the individual applications of a principle are ridiculous, the principle itself can have no foundation in fact. The last thing that would occur to the literary theorists of those times, or to their successors, the *Pandits* of to-day, would be to go back upon actual facts, and to seek by analysis and comparison to work out the true stages of evolution. They found, as I infer from troublesome experience among some of my Indian co-adjutors, the *a priori* method simpler and more congenial. That at least did not compel them to pollute their souls by the study of plebian usage. Having once got hold of a formula, they insisted, like Thales and his contemporaries,

Theory of the 'mixed
castes.'

in making it account for the entire order of things. Thus, castes, which had been developed out of corporations, like the mediæval trade guilds, or which expressed the distinction between fishing and hunting, agriculture and handicrafts, were all supposed to have been evolved by inter-breeding.

"But the initial principle, though it could not be stretched to explain everything, was in the main correct. It happens we can still observe its workings among a number of Dravidian tribes, which, though not yet drawn into the vortex of Brahmanism, have been in some degree affected by the example of Hindu organization. As regards inter-tribal marriages, they seem to be in a stage of development, through which the Hindus themselves have passed. A man may marry a woman of another tribe, but the offspring of such unions do not become members of either the paternal or maternal groups, but belong to a distinct endogamous aggregate, the name of which often denotes the precise cross by which it was started. Among the large tribe of Mundas we find, for instance, nine such groups—Khanger-Munda, Kharria-Munda, Konkpat-Munda, Karanga-Munda, Mahili-Munda, Nāgbansi-Munda, Oraon-Munda, Sad-Munda, Savar-Munda—descended from intermarriages between Munda men and women of other tribes. The Mahilis, again, have five sub-tribes of this kind, and themselves trace their descent to the union of a Munda with a Santāl woman. Illustrations of this sort might be multiplied almost indefinitely. The point to be observed is that the sub-tribes formed by inter-tribal crossing are from an early stage complete endogamous units, and that they tend continually to sever their slender connection with the parent group, and stand forth as independent tribes. As soon as this comes to pass, and a functional or territorial name disguises their mixed descent, the process by which they have been formed is seen to resemble closely that by which the standard Indian tradition seeks to explain the appearance of other castes alongside of the classical four.—*Preface to "The Tribes and Castes in Bengal"* pages xxxvi and xxxvii.

Without entering into the merits or demerits of the point discussed by Mr. Risley, we may observe, that that writer does not ridicule Manu's theory of the origin of the mixed castes, like Mr. Dutt, but admits that it is in the main correct. Mr. Risley has made caste his special study, and, therefore, he is entitled to speak on the subject more authoritatively than Mr. Dutt.

(To be continued.)

ART. VII.—OUR TRADE WITH THE PERSIAN GULF.

SINCE the beginning of the present century, Persia, on account of her proximity to India on the one side, and to Russia on the other, has strongly attracted the political and commercial regard of Great Britain. In this, as in other of our later maritime and political developments in Southern and Eastern Asia, the old East India Company showed a prescience that to us must appear perfectly marvellous. The work they initiated in those early days by the help of their small but most efficient Navy, whether in the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, in Bushire, Muscat, Aden and Zanzibar, or in the East Indian Archipelago and the China Seas, is one that is still being carried out, and must be yet further developed, if we wish to retain our supremacy in the East and our command of its markets. Of all these, probably, the work in Persia is of the greatest political weight, besides being of considerable commercial importance. Persian territory borders our Indian Empire in Kabul and Beluchistan; while, in the North and West, it marches with Turkey and Russia. Peopled by one of the most ancient branches of the Aryan family, it is exceedingly fertile in parts, has a fine climate, boasts of large cities, towns and seaports—these last on the Persian Gulf—, does a fair amount of trade with India, China and Europe, and has a history that stretches back to the days of Alexander the Great, Cyrus, and the Pharaohs of Egypt. That it has preserved its independence and native lines of monarchs through so many thousands of years, amid the rise and fall of dynasties and empires, tells much in its favour. It has its own distinctive form of the Muhammedan religion, probably owing to its non-Semitic origin, tolerant and allowing of progress, so unlike the obstructive fanaticism of Turkey and Arabia; and it exists now one of the only two great Muhammedan States in the world, and to Great Britain of even more importance than Turkey. Besides marching with our Indian Empire, Turkey and Russia, as already remarked, through its long stretch of sea-board on the Persian Gulf, shares the Indian Ocean with us. Held by a strong maritime Power, it would dispute with us the supremacy of that Ocean, and would imperil all our trade and possessions to the East of the longitude of the Suez Canal.

In our latest political appointments in Persia—of Sir Mortimer Durand as Ambassador to Teheran, and of Colonel Wilson, a tried Indian political officer, to the Persian Gulf—we have shown a due appreciation of these important political

considerations. The time is come, in short, when Persia will be of greater interest to us than even Turkey. Russia, on the Persian Gulf, would divide Southern Asia with us, and threaten India far more seriously than if she held Constantinople; and our nascent trade with Arabia, Persia, and Asiatic Turkey, by way of the Persian Gulf, that is, with some thirty millions of Asiatics who love display and finery, would be entirely destroyed. This trade is just beginning to tell, and it may be useful both to glance at it generally and to mark it in detail.

The Persian Gulf region, although geographically narrow and well-defined, comprises commercially and politically an enormous extent of Arabian, Persian and Turkish territory. Of the great peninsula of Arabia, it takes in, either directly, or in influence, the entire Eastern half, from Muscat on the South to the port of Bussorah at the head of the Gulf. Muscat itself is an extensive Arabian State, under British protection; and the considerable island of Bahrein, also under our protection, faces the mainland further North, opposite the Arabian-Turkish port of Oojeir, which is the port for Central Arabia and the Wahabee kingdom of Riadh, visited by Palgrave. Bussorah, in the North, affects Northern Arabia; while Baghdad, five hundred miles further North and up the Tigris—where, too, a British Steamer line is at work, in conjunction with the British India Steam Navigation line from Bombay—is right in the heart of Asiatic Turkey and immediately to the North of Arabia. Thus, while there are numerous and conflicting political interests on the Western face of the Gulf, the total of the populations commercially affected can hardly be estimated at less than ten or fifteen millions. On the Eastern face, besides one or two small islands, as Ormuz—imbedded two centuries back by Milton in his great epic, but of little note now except for a small pearl export—also under our protection, the entire coast line is politically under one and the same Government, that of Persia. This coast line includes a number of ports, among which may be named Bunder Abbas, Lingga, and Bushire, and terminates opposite Bussorah. But beyond that, again, as Baghdad serves for Asiatic Turkey, there is a port, Mohommerah, inland, near the junction of the Karun River with the Tigris; and the Karun River itself, extending inland into the heart of Persia, is navigable for a great distance. The Karun River and its geography and commercial capabilities have been fully described by Mr. Curzon, and need not detain us here. Altogether, the Eastern face of what is called the "Persian Gulf" affects the entire Southern and Western half, or three-fourths of Persia, with

probably more than ten millions of people. These twenty or twenty-five millions, all told, of Arabians, Turks, and Persians—including Armenians—have all their numerous wants, in regard to hardware, metals and finery, especially the last, in which they indulge to an inordinate extent. The way these Orientals clothe themselves in silks, turbans, over-alls and woven cloths, would considerably surprise an Englishman who had been accustomed to judge of the East from India and her poor and ill-clad populations.

As previously remarked, British trade, whether direct, or by way of India, is only just beginning to assert itself. The British India Steam Navigation Company send a steamer from Bombay every week to the "Gulf," and another line, the "Bombay and Persia," has lately been started, and sends a steamer once a month. From the North of the Gulf another line, the "Euphrates and Tigris Steam Navigation Company," plies up to the inland ports as far as Baghdad. But, though the trade is only beginning, all the sea-board population of the numerous ports may be said to be engaged in it, or to live by it. Considering the numerous obstacles presented by bad government, corrupt officers, marauders, and an utter absence of anything like a made road, or even cart-track any where—even in Persia, from the coast to the interior—the avidity with which these Asiatics enter into trade is perfectly astonishing, and would gratify the heart of any Liverpool merchant or Birmingham manufacturer.

The following graphic picture is supplied by an eye-witness and late visitor at Oojeir, on the mainland of Arabia, of which Bahrein is the port of call for British steamers:—"A caravan leaves Oojeir nearly every week, because this is the depôt of wares for the interior. The Jebel Shommar country is probably supplied overland from Bussorah and Baghdad, but the whole of Southern Nejd receives piece-goods, coffee, rice, sugar, and Birmingham wares by way of Bahrein and Oojeir. The whole plain in and about the Custom House was piled with bales and boxes, and the air filled with the noise of loading 700 camels." The trade is, of course, largest on the Persian side of the Gulf, but the roads here are even worse, or rather, there are no roads at all. A direct distance, for instance, of 80 miles or so, between two such important cities as Bushire (the port) and Shiraz, is converted into one of 167 miles, the track being most circuitous and consisting of a succession of "rocky stairs." How heavy burdens and people get through, or over, these, is a marvel. Roads for cart and wheeled traffic are the first essential of successful trade, and that there is not one such along the entire thousand miles of Southern and South-Western Persia

speaks little for the intelligence with which the country is governed. The Shah is anxious to increase his revenues, yet it does not strike him that one line of trunk railway from Bunder Abbas, by way of Shiraz and Ispahan, to Baghdad, with a few common cart-roads from the sea-ports to the interior, would immediately double them. Instead of giving "concessions" and so forth for impossibilities, he ought to undertake these remunerative public works himself, even if he has to do so by resorting to European loans. Of course, railways would do more than any thing else to increase the wealth of, and giving stability to, his kingdom; but this is a subject which demands separate treatment. In the meantime we will proceed with our view of the present trade of the Gulf.

The total value of the trade may not appear very large; still, as we shall see, it is by no means inconsiderable; and it is really only beginning to take hold of the national life. A very large number of Foreign Office tabulated returns—five for each port—furnish us with interesting details of this growing trade, and a comprehensive and close study of these is essential to the clear understanding of the present position and the prospects of British trade in the Gulf, and in Persia and Arabia and Turkey in Asia. We shall note, as we proceed with our examination, a great many points which it is important to the British merchant and trader to know, such as particular imports and exports which will bear increase, causes of fluctuations, directions in which new ground may be broken. We shall find, too, some mistaken ideas that have been indulged in, such as that Indian tea has displaced China tea in Persia—at least in Southern Persia,—or that the export of bones from the Gulf goes a large way in the return of trade, completely dispersed. Some of these ideas have a mischievous tendency to retard legitimate progress. For instance, as regards tea, the Persians are a great tea-drinking people, and the belief that some ten or twelve millions of them are fully supplied with a hundred thousand pounds worth of this article, tends to prevent the further effort which is so much needed. A close examination will also show wherein at present lies the real hindrance to Indian displacing China (and Java) tea.

The imports into the Gulf comprise arms and ammunition—a little—such imports, however, being prohibited; candles—a small quantity; coffee—a great deal—the total value for all the ports being about £60,000; cotton goods, thread and yarn—a great deal, most of the piece-goods being British, while a little of the yarn is from Bombay; drugs and medicines—a fair quantity; dyes and colouring materials—a fair quantity; glass and glassware, beads, looking-glasses, &c.—a moderate quantity;

gold lace, thread, and embroidered cloth,—a fair quantity; grain and pulse, especially rice—large quantities; hardware and cutlery—not much; indigo—a large import; “jute manufactures”—very little; lampware—a little; European liquors, stores, and provisions—a little; metals, including pig iron, hoop iron, bar iron, lead, tin, copper, &c.—a large quantity; “manufactures of metals”—fair; oil (kerosine)—fair,—about £16,000 in value, much being taken on the Arabian coast; perfumery of sorts—a little; porcelain and Chinaware—a fair quantity; silks—a little; spices, including black pepper,—a very large quantity; stationery—a little; sugar, both loaf and soft,—a moderate quantity; tea, including both China and India, about two million pounds—little for such a largely tea-drinking population, and including hardly a single ounce for the Arab coast; varnishes and paints, woollen goods, mostly inter-local in the Gulf and consisting of carpets, in all of a value of £35,000,—very unsatisfactory for British woollen goods when we remember the winter of Persia; matches—Swedish and Austrian; and copra (cocoanut). Of these imports, there are many capable of increase, and some of a large increase. The exports from the Gulf ports comprise animals, mostly horses, to India—but a large inter-local Gulf trade is done in donkeys, horned cattle, and camels; raw cotton—a small quantity; cotton and silk, native made piece-goods,—a small quantity; dates and fruits—a very large export; grain and pulse—moderate; gum—moderate; hides and skins—moderate; opium—comparatively large; pearls—a very considerable export, of the value of nearly £1,000,000; pearl shells—moderate; rose-water—large; silk, raw and manufactured,—a small quantity; tobacco—a large export; wool, mostly inter-local,—a little; carpets, mostly inter-local,—moderate; sweets and confectionary (Oriental)—a little to India; Muscat turbans—also to India; almonds, raisins, and pistachio nuts.

It will be seen hereafter that most of the imports, and nearly all the British trade, are paid for by two articles of luxury—pearls and opium,—and that, by India and China. That the Liverpool merchant should be paid for his exports to Persia, by China, and by Indian princes fond of “barbaric pearl” ornamentation, throws a curious and instructive side-light on the operations of trade. A luxury of the rich in China and a vanity of the great in India pay for the commonest needs of the poor and the peasant in Persia!

We proceed now to a few figures—the totals of the tonnage, and the imports and exports—British, foreign, and native inter-local, and including small native coasting craft—for the several ports of the Gulf for which there are

returns. Details of the totals will be furnished hereafter in the detailed examination of each port.

For the port of Bushire, the total value of all exports and imports in these *specie* and bullion are not included, as they seem to depend on causes remote from trade, and fluctuate considerably) is £1,595,286. Total tonnage, inwards and outwards, 280,986 tons. For the port of Linggah £1,048,320, and 390,435 tons (much of it native craft). Here the import and export (nearly equal) of *specie* is sufficiently large—£391,875—to attract attention. For the port of Bunder Abbas £473,851, and 157,034 tons. Certain temporary causes, to be noticed hereafter, operated unfavourably on trade at this port, as the value of that of the previous year was £645,526. For the port of Mohommerah £199,761, and 126,852½ tons. For the Karun River (inland) £13,885, and 2,791½ tons. This Karun River inland trade, however, is comprised in that of Mohommerah, the external outlet. For Arab coast ports on Persian Gulf £526,295, and 37,200 tons—all native sailing craft. For the port of Bahrein £751,168, and 181,924 tons. Much of the value of the trade here enters into the Arabian coast trade at Oojeir, as noticed previously.

We remarked that the Chinese by their use of opium, and Indian princes by their appreciation of pearls, helped to pay the merchants of Liverpool and Birmingham for the goods they sent to Persia. The exact figures are as follows: The export of opium from Bushire amounted to £338,594 in value; that from Shiraz to £285,000; that from Bunder Abbas to £37,300:—in all, £660,894. The export of pearls, excluding pearl-shell, from Linggah (for Ormuz and parts adjacent) amounted to £303,125 in value; that from the Arab coast ports to £328,125; and that from Bahrein to £307,813. It is possible that some, or much, of the Arab coast export of pearls is re-entered in Bahrein; but we take the figures as they stand, and they give us a total of £939,063. Thus the total value of both opium and pearls amounts to £1,599,957. The import of piece-goods at the different ports stands thus:—Bushire £628,970; Linggah £91,937; Bunder Abbas £90,650; Arab coast ports £18,750; Bahrein £38,866; Mohommerah £89,200; Shiraz £575,187:—or a total of £1,533,560. There is also a small import of thread and twist at Bunder Abbas, of £21,506. It will thus be seen how the opium and pearls pay for all the cotton goods imported, and even leave a balance over, sufficient to pay for the total import of hardware and cutlery, which, however, is inconsiderable in amount; and it may be noted here that, while the export of pearls is, perhaps, incapable of expansion, the production and export

of opium may be greatly increased to pay for any considerable increase in the import of piece-goods.

Passing from this view of our subject, we may note some of the causes which generally help to increase or retard trade in Persia. The Persian coast districts suffered much from a bad harvest during the year, and this not only prevented the export of grain, but checked the purchasing-power of the people in reference to imports. There was also a rebellion of the Baharloo Arabs, which interfered seriously with the trade of Bunder Abbas, and, again, the cholera epidemic in the North hindered communication by trade routes there, and led to the wants of Teheran and places further North being supplied by imports through Bushire. This was observable especially in regard to loaf-sugar, of which a large quantity went north through the Persian Gulf. It is noticeable, as showing that Russian commercial enterprise is turning its attention to the Persian Gulf, that the "Société pour le Commerce et l'Industrie en Perse et Asie Centrale," a Russian Company established in Teheran, is stated to be now contemplating opening up trade from the Black Sea, and through the Suez Canal, with the Gulf ports. The trade of the Persian Gulf, though seemingly large in the aggregate tonnage of the ports, is mainly carried by a weekly steamer of the British India Steam Navigation Company from Bombay. Besides the "British India," a steamer of a new line, the "Bombay and Persia," calls about once a month; and every now and then there is a steamer direct from England. There is hardly any trade in square-rigged sailing vessels; but, of the total aggregate tonnage, a very considerable fraction is supplied by Arab, Persian, and Bombay native sailing craft. At the ports of Linggah, Bahrein, and the Arab coast, this is specially observable, as will be noticed when we furnish the figures in detail. As yet, and for some years to come, these boats will continue to share the carrying trade with British steamers, but they will disappear from the Gulf as certainly as the old Malay *prahus* have disappeared from Singapore, and given place to a large service of small steamers all over the Archipelago ports.

We may consider now somewhat in detail the figures for each port, and first for BUSHIRE as the largest and most important; observing before we pass on, that if only a good road were made to communicate with the Karun River from Ispahan, not only would the volume of trade of the Persian Gulf be considerably increased, but Bushire itself as a port would dwindle down. As a haven, or shelter for shipping, or for landing and embarking goods, Bushire has no conveniences. It is, or was, (for it is united now to

the mainland), a small island, the water shoaling from it for four miles till a depth of four fathoms is attained. Vessels, therefore, have to lie off four miles in the open roadstead! Communication with the shore is maintained by small native sailing boats, and these, when there is no wind, or the weather is rough, cannot be used. Altogether, Bushire is no port for extensive trade. Land-ward the traffic has again to cross a shoaled-up arm of the sea, some six miles wide; and beyond that, on the way to Shiraz, there is no proper road, and none is feasible.

In exhibiting the exports and imports for Bushire, to avoid prolixity, we note only such of the exports and imports as exceed £10,000 in amount. Opium was exported to the value of £338,594; raw cotton £43,563; tobacco £38,418; fruits and dates over £30,000; mother-of-pearl shells £19,053; gum £13,578; provisions and oilman's stores £12,522. The grand total of all the exports was £571,816; added to which there was *specie* to the amount of £59,054. In the previous year rose-water, raw silk and raw cotton, each rose to over £10,000; but in these articles, especially in raw wool, as well as in grains of sorts, there is considerable fluctuation from year to year. Of the grand total above noted, there went to British India, including British Colonies, £131,273; to Great Britain £70,657; to China £307,582; to Turkey £67,653; to Egypt £30,431; and to all other countries £8,127;—the total for all other countries, except Great Britain and India and British Colonies, being £413,793. This is more than double the total for England and her possessions, the amount for China alone exceeding it by half as much again. The details of the imports (above £10,000) are cotton goods, £628,970; loaf sugar (in this there is a considerable fluctuation from year to year) £69,368; soft sugar £69,555; metals £54,758 (here also there is considerable fluctuation); manufactures of metals £14,158; tea £49,669; indigo £32,468; spices £13,690; drugs and medicines £10,598;—the grand total being £1,023,470, to which must be added *specie* £6,445. During the preceding year imports of woollen goods, porcelain and chinaware, amounted to over £32,000; but in these items there is considerable fluctuation. Of this grand total of imports, there came from Great Britain £563,738; from India and the Colonies £371,754; and from the rest of the world £76,852. It will be seen hereafter that the proportions of exports and imports between Great Britain and her possessions and the rest of the world, are very different in the other ports. The total tonnage that entered Bushire, of sailing vessels, that is, small native craft, was 13,440 tons, in 222 vessels, of which 25 of 3,000 tons were

British ; and that of steam vessels was 132,390 *tons* in 127 vessels, of which 126 vessels of 131,590 *tons* were British. Of clearances the totals are 220 sailing vessels of 13,280 *tons*, and 127 steamers of 121,876 *tons* ; the proportion of British being, of course, the same as in the case of the entries.

The exports from Linggah, which is merely a *dépôt* for receiving and despatching goods to the neighbouring islands (Ormuz, Kishma, and others) and a portion of the mainland, were (above £10,000) cotton goods £82,937 ; grain and pulse (considerable fluctuation) £43,250 ; coffee £10,437 ; pearls, £303,125 ; pearl shells £9,200 ;—the total being £476,237, besides, *specie* £191,875. The imports were—cotton goods £91,937 ; grain and pulse £56,100 ; coffee £11,718 ; pearls £303,750 ; pearl shells £8,650 ;—or a total of £572,083. The tobacco trade here, too, is considerable ; the imports and exports, which nearly balance each other, having been over £20,000 in the previous year. In this tobacco trade, principally export, there have been considerable fluctuations, owing to the late concession of a monopoly in it, and the troubles arising therefrom. The concession has, however, been cancelled, and the large export trade has now resumed its normal average. Of the exports there went to Great Britain £8,300 ; to India and British Colonies £341,962 ; to Bahrein and other maritime states of the Gulf £231,571 ; to Turkey £34,990 ; to Muscat £8,568 ; to Zanzibar £612 ; while the imports were, from India and Colonies (none from Great Britain) £303,438 ; from Bahrein and the maritime States £264,675 ; from Muscat £31,365 ; from Zanzibar £693. Thus the total exports to Great Britain and her possessions were £350,262 ; and those to all other parts £275,741. The total imports from British possessions were £303,438 ; and those from all other countries £296,733. The proportions at Bushire are thus entirely reversed here. The number of sailing craft (native) entered at Linggah is 809 of 40,125 *tons*, of which 172, of 14,250 *tons* are British ; and that of steamers is 82 of 154,600 *tons*, of which 80 of 152,000 *tons* are British. The number of steamers cleared is 82 of 162,600 *tons* ; and that of sailing small craft 644 of 33,110 *tons*.

The principal exports from the port of BUNDER ABBAS were,—fruits and dates over £80,000 ; opium £37,300 ; wool £25,000 ; drugs and medicines £14,926 ; raw cotton £14,250 ;—the total being £200,628, besides *specie*, £19,259. Of the exports there went to Great Britain £1,712 ; to India and Colonies £170,938 ; and to the rest of the world £47,237. The principal imports were tea £104,787 ; cotton goods £90,650 ; thread and twist £21,506 ; loaf and soft sugar over £25,000 ;—the total of all being £273,223, besides *specie* £5,436. The above figures, however, give no idea of the real trade of this port, which,

during the year, was most seriously affected by the drought and the rebellion of the Baharloo Arabs previously referred to. The total of the imports into Bunder Abbas during the preceding year was nearly double that noted above, that of cotton goods alone being £222,304. The imports into Bunder Abbas show—Great Britain £9,375; India and Colonies £259,060; and the rest of the world £5,224. The proportions between British trade here and that of other countries show a similarity to those at Bushire, and not at Linggah. Of shipping, there entered sailing 180 vessels of 6,410 *tons*, and steam 81 of 72,862 *tons*, 4,000 *tons* of the former and 70,362 *tons* of the latter being British; while there cleared 185 sailing vessels (native craft) of 6,900 *tons*, and 79 steamers of 70,862 *tons*.

From SHIRAZ, of a total export trade of £461,911, opium represented £285,000; raw cotton £64,220; tobacco £63,750; raw wool £17,812; and fruits £11,062. Out of a total import trade of £872,160, Shiraz shows £575,187 of cotton goods; loaf sugar £89,250; soft sugar £54,000; metals £65,012; indigo £23,375; and woollen goods £19,375. There are no entries distinguishing British from foreign trade, though the large figures for opium and piece-goods denote China and England respectively. The sugar imports received an abnormal stimulus owing to the cholera cordon established during the year in the northern provinces of Persia.

In the port of MOHOMMERAH, communicating with the Karun River, the total exports stand at £67,538, there being no one item of over £10,000; and the total imports at £132,223, the only items above £10,000 being piece-goods £89,200, and coffee £13,920. Of the exports, Great Britain figures for £2,091, and India and British Colonies for about £54,000; and of the imports, Great Britain for £350, and India for £128,000. Evidently the piece-goods here all went from India. The largest exports are wool and opium. Of sea-going vessels, as distinct from the Karun River steamers, plying up and down, there entered 11 sailing vessels of 1,018 *tons*, and 72 steamers of 66,841 *tons*, all British; and there cleared sailing vessels of the same number and tonnage, all British, and 61 steamers of 55,184 *tons*, also all British. The Karun River trade was represented by 22 British steamers carrying 832½ *tons*, and 14 Persian steamers carrying 550 *tons*, entries, and 21 British, with 819 *tons*, and 14 Persian steamers with 590 *tons* clearances. The total value of the import trade, is put down as £5,371-14s., with *specie* £1,637-10s., less that by the Persian steamers of which no returns were obtained; and that of the export trade (*i.e.*, up the river), as £8,514. This Karun River trade was a pet project of Mr. Curzon's;

but nothing will be done till a road—a cart road and not a “mule track”—is opened to Ispahān.

At Mohommereh the imports are nearly double the exports, the entire trade of £200,000 being British and Indian, excepting about £15,000, *i.e.*, about a twelfth. Among the ports on the Persian (as distinguished from the Arab and Turkish) side of the Gulf, there are one or two others, as Jaskh, and Fāo, of which no returns are furnished, probably because there are no “consular agents” at these places. The totals of the whole import and export trade are, for Bushire £1,660,685; for Linggah £1,440,195; for Bunder Abbas £498,546; for Mohommereh £199,761;—the grand total being £3,799,287. If we add to these the omitted ports and a considerable allowance for smuggling, we may reckon the total trade of the Gulf on the *Persian* side at over four millions sterling. The British portion of this trade, including that with India and the Colonies, is almost exactly half, or about two millions sterling, the other large sharers being China, the Persian Gulf islands and States lying near about, and Turkey with Egypt. The greater part of the British trade consists of piece-goods; and, as before stated, there is a small trade in metals and hardware.

It is necessary to say something about communications before we leave the Persian side. Without a stable government there can be but little trade in the true sense of the word. So, too, without roads and the means of communication and transporting produce safely, cheaply, and rapidly. There are other elements, as irrigation, which also, for many parts of Persia, may be regarded as essential, but these may be disregarded for the present. The Shah may consider his government stable, and it may be so in one sense. Authority is centralised, and his word is regarded as law. But it depends only on himself and on his tenure of life. His son, the Prince Imperial, may succeed him when that tenure ends; but there is no guarantee that there will be no troubles, or that this successor, who has been left entirely without training in the art of government, will not develop qualities the reverse of those which have marked NASR-ED-DEEN. The hands of the clock of progress may be put back; authority may again be decentralised; governors may become all powerful and independent of the central authority; and the ecclesiastical despotism, which even now is barely concealed, and which occasionally dares to try conclusions with him, may again become rampant. When a Government depends for its continuance upon the tenure of life of an individual, there can be no true stability predicated of it. Even now under the rule of Nasr-ed-deen, though in advance of his predecessors, the strong and rich prey on the weak and helpless, while those “take who have the power;” no man can

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be secure in the enjoyment of his own, or of a due and legitimate share of his labour. Hence, it is only the barest and most absolute need that governs trade and determines its amount. But this matter of efficient, good, and stable government is one that, in connection with Persia, is a very large one, and must be deferred for the present. Our immediate concern is with the means of communication and transport. And first, as to the existing means of communication. If we say simply that there are none at all, and that over territory equal in extent to the German and Austrian Empires, we shall be stating about the bare truth. The two or three short lengths of abortive road that may be seen in the extreme North are hardly worth noting in connection with the needs of a vast Empire, and are truly the "exceptions" which illustrate the fact that there are no roads in Persia. Bunder Abbas is a great port in the South, which sends goods even to the extreme North, and affects the entire Eastern half of Persia, but there is only a track for mules for 700 or 800 miles ! Ordinarily it takes two months to perform the difficult and wearying journey. Bushire is another great port in the South, but the mule-track that connects it with Shiraz, 167 miles in length, is, as we have said, a succession of "rocky-stairs ;" while, further on, to Ispahan, and even beyond, there is no road in the proper sense of the term. It is the same as regards the trade routes between Baghdad and Teheran, between Ispahan and Baghdad, and between the Karun River and Ispahan.

As long as the Shah remains unconvinced of the absolute necessity for fair and proper roads, and can see only an immense expenditure in constructing them, nothing will be done. But the thing can be done : he can be made to perceive their absolute necessity for the wealth—which means contentment—of his subjects, for the development of his own receipts—which should prove a strong argument to him—and for uniting his provinces and consolidating that central authority towards which so much of his effort has been directed, and which must ever be a prime object with him. There are also expedients by which the cost might be greatly reduced, or thrown upon others. The same arguments exist in favour of a railway—at least one Grand Trunk line ;—and if we have not hitherto mentioned it, it is not because a railway is of less importance, or less indicated than roads, but because the latter are more immediately necessary ; because a vast amount of trade will in any case have to be done by them, and because a Grand Trunk line of railway, without at least ordinary cart-roads to feed it on both sides, would hardly pay.

A railway, too, such as we should have in Persia as a Grand Trunk line, from end to end of the country, would take some

years to construct—we should say at least three years, in three sections of 500 miles each, *i. e.*, from E. by N. W. to W., while a cross line from N. to S. would take at least two years, in two such sections of 500 miles each ; whereas the roads we would recommend, from Bunder Abbas to Meshed, *vid* either Kerman or Yazd, from Shiraz to Teheran, *vid* Ispahan, from the Karun River to Ispahan, and from Baghdad, or even Hamadan to Teheran, might be made in a twelvemonth if taken in hand simultaneously. But the subject of railways, or a railway for Persia, cannot be much longer deferred. We have seen that it is an imperious necessity, whether we view it commercially or politically, for Persia herself ; and in this view it regards the Shah, his successors, and the security of his Empire, without the slightest reference to India, or England, or Russia. The question is one with which he himself is directly, immediately, and to the last degree concerned. Such being the case, he is bound to take action, and effective action, and supply the initiative without regard to any other Power. It is useless for him to wait for *concessionnaires*, as they will not, and cannot come forward under present circumstances. He must imitate here the example of his great predecessor, Alexander the Great, and cut the Gordian knot tied by Russia, Great Britain and the fears of men of capital himself. He must himself construct the Imperial Trunk line of Persia ; that is, of course, if he cannot get any of the other Powers to do it. Russia has the monopoly of constructing such a work to the exclusion of any other Power, unless she declines it. She has hitherto effectually barred the way, and that wholly owing to the Shah's looking to others to do the work that is his own, and is of such extreme importance and value to him in every way. But Russia herself is at present thoroughly peacefully disposed, and is devoted to trade extension and the development of her internal wealth ; and she cannot but see that she is sacrificing her own real interests in postponing, or standing in the way of, the opening up of Persia by railways. Once she is convinced of this, and negotiations may be entered into by Great Britain with St. Petersburg to this end, subsequent arrangements between the two Powers will be easy. One may take the Trunk line from East to West, and the other the Trunk line from North to South—and why should Russia be prevented from trying her chance with England for the Persian Gulf trade ? Are Englishmen afraid of a fair competition over an open line ? We trow not ;—or some other of many arrangements may be arrived at. It will thus be seen what splendid opportunities both Sir Mortimer Durand and Sir Frank Lascelles have before them, in conjunction with the Shah of Persia and M. de Giers,* and if the matter were

* This was written before the death of M. de Giers.

entered into with any spirit, six months ought to be amply sufficient for the railway, or railways, to make a beginning. But, as we have shown, it is a matter that is peculiarly the Shah's own, and affects himself, and he is bound, if Russia and England cannot agree and continue to do nothing, to take it up himself and carry it through. As he will benefit by the measure, and as the capital can be obtained in no other way, he must guarantee the interest, raising a loan, if necessary, himself. It does not matter, in this case whether the money comes from England, or France, or Austria, or Russia, or even America. He will consolidate and enrich his kingdom and unite it with India and Central Asia, and thus acquire a name similar to that of Nadir Shah, or Timour, or, going further, of Alexander the Great, who also united India and Central Asia to Persia ; or, we should say, a name even greater than these, greatest of all names in Asia. The thing should be done, and can be done, and must come. Delay is injurious to all concerned. Therefore it is to the interest of all to agree to do it ; and if diplomacy, and a sense of self-interest, should fail with the foreign Powers, the Shah can end the difficulty himself.

We have spoken above of a Grand Trunk line from East to West, and possibly of one from North to South. In discussing the subject of railways in Persia, it is absurd and unnecessary to view it in any other than a commercial light. It is absurd for England to say, in regard to it, that Russia is anxious only to devour Persia ; just as absurd as it is for Russia to say that, after Kabul and Beluchistan, England now wants to incorporate Persia. We believe that both England in India and Russia in Central Asia and the Caucasus are satisfied with what they already have. In the North of Persia and in Georgia, the Armenians seek autonomy, and would certainly fight rather than be incorporated with Russia. The military way to Teheran, even with a railway, would not be easy ; while Persia united, well governed, and well drilled, could beat back even a Muscovite invasion. There are magnificent, hardy mountain races in Persia for soldiers. And, as for England in India casting a covetous eye on Persia, we are sure even the Russians themselves do not believe it.

Ridding ourselves of these fallacies and mistakes, let us glance for an instant at the route of the Grand Trunk line from East to West ; and also of the line from North to South, should that be required simultaneously, as a counterpoise to the other. As will be seen further on, this connection between the North and South need not be an altogether separate line from the borders of Russia to the Persian Gulf, but merely a connection between Teheran and the North, and Shiraz and the Gulf, the interme-

diate portion being supplied by the Grand Trunk line itself. Hence, should Great Britain and Russia agree, the former would have to spend very much the greater amount of capital, as Russia need not take up more than the short connection between Tiflis and Teheran, a distance of only 500 miles; whereas England would have to pay for a distance altogether of 1,500 miles for the Grand Trunk line, and for the connection between Shiraz and Bunder Abbas, another length of about 400 miles. We firmly believe this plan would solve the question, as between England and Russia, of Persian railways. At the least cost, Russia would obtain a free outlet for her goods not only all over Persia, but even to the Persian Gulf. England, of course, would gain the same advantages.

Now let us look for a moment at the alignment of the Grand Trunk line, and first at its starting point. Kurrachee has much in every way, except strategical importance, to recommend it. And here we should say that, in the case of any such extensive line, we have to consider the commercial aspect first. We want to open up Persia thoroughly to commerce, and not—in *this* view—to safeguard Afghanistan. And such a view would thoroughly allay Russia's suspicions. A line starting from Quetta would, for almost half the distance, be purely strategic, would have to cross immense deserts, and would never pay. If the line is ever pushed further westward from Quetta, or Chaman, it must be on purely strategic grounds, and we are not considering the strategic defence of Afghanistan at present. The danger of Russia pushing down, through the undefined portion of Western Beluchistan, to the Indian Ocean, is purely imaginary. She would have to reckon not only with Persia on the East, but further South with the British Indian Government. As we have said, Kurrachee as a starting point, has everything to recommend it. As a port of Indian trade, it is advancing by leaps and bounds, and there can be no doubt that, when Kurrachee is connected with Delhi, half of the trade of Western India, and the whole of the trade of North India, will flow into it. Then it has no extensive desert to reckon with on its way westward. As far as Bunder Abbas in the first section, say of 500 miles, the way is easy, and mostly in British territory. Commercially, too, even this, the least promising portion of the Grand Trunk, would most probably pay. There are considerable quantities of grain and cloth required at Bunder Abbas, and the cross cart-road from the North would both take and bring trade; besides there is the through trade of Persia with India, which would have also to go over this portion of the line. Then, there are several small ports with inland traffic, which would be met with on the way.

The second portion, of about another 500 miles, would take in the three largest cities in Persia,—Shiraz, Ispahan, and Teheran. This portion of the line would most assuredly pay. Finally, the last portion would be from Teheran to either Tiflis, *via* Tabreez, in a North-Westerly direction, or due westward, that is, into Turkish territory. In the former case, this portion would be constructed by Russia; in the latter by Great Britain. If, however, the latter Power should elect to connect with Turkey, there would remain a further portion to be constructed in Turkey to connect with the Mediterranean, at the same time that the connection with Tiflis would remain. This route which we have sketched, is the most natural and easy and simple. It would be the only paying route. It would run through Persia along its entire length, and unite its principal cities. It would also supply the whole of the cross line, except the Russian portion from Teheran to Tiflis. From Bunder Abbas to Teheran the line would be common for both directions—East and West, and North and South. The shortest line from Bunder Abbas to Teheran is by way of Yezd; but, if that course were taken, the large cities and trading centres of Shiraz and Ispahan would be neglected, and this cannot be recommended. It is possible that, in the far future of railway enterprise in Persia, Meshed may be united with Bunder Abbas by way of Kerman, which, again, may be united with Kandahar or Chaman.

The view we have taken above is that taken by Mr. Curzon in his work on Persia, differing only from his as regards the first portion from Kurrachee. He would have the line from Quetta or Chaman. His considerations, however, were strategical. We have shown the objections to it. It would not pay; it would have to cross an extensive desert; it would neglect some of the largest trade centres and cities of Persia; it would not be agreed to by Russia; an extensive cross-connection would have to be made with the Persian Gulf; and the fears of Russia penetrating by Western Beluchistan to the Indian Ocean—on which Mr. Curzon enlarges—are purely chimerical.

For the view we have taken in favour of the line starting from Kurrachee, we have the high authority of Sir Frederick Goldsmid, than whom no one is better qualified to offer an opinion, as he has himself been over the ground, which Mr. Curzon has not. The sum, then, of what we have urged is this:—The line is not to be largely a British strategic line, but a purely commercial line for British India, Persia, and even Russia. We are surely not afraid, under equal conditions, of Russia cutting us out in trade. If we are, we had better dismiss the whole subject, and frankly confess that it is not

Russia, but England, that bars the way to the commercial development of Persia. The line, beginning from Kurrachee, would proceed in a North-West direction, in the latter part agreeing with Mr. Curzon's idea. We must give a *quid pro quo* to Russia for our connection with Kurrachee, by giving up the connection of Teheran with Tiflis to Russia. As a *quid pro quo* for a further Russian connection of the Trans-Caspian railway with Meshed and the Eastern provinces,—as it has a strong strategical bearing,—we should have an extension westward from Quetta to Kerman, or Yezd. Mr. Curzon says, in his work on Persia: "British energy will do wisely to direct itself to the improvement of those routes rather than to the attempted recovery of lost ascendancy in the North," and in this he agrees with us that we should do what we can, instead of attempting the impossible, and give Russia a *quid pro quo*, where she already has a footing, and naturally, must have, for what we take ourselves.

We continue the Trunk line from India; and Russia connects Tiflis with Teheran, and thus with the Persian Gulf. It will be observed that the objections urged by the Indian Government to the extension from Quetta, noticed by Mr. Curzon, do not apply to our route. Thus, thoroughly disarming the jealousy of Russia, and giving her her due share from Tiflis and on to the Persian Gulf, and the line being commercially paying, there would remain no further difficulty in a question that has hitherto been so obscured by jealousies and extraneous considerations.

If we can establish this railway, we get rid of half the Egyptian trouble, immensely increase our trade, civilise Persia and render her strong. With reference to an Indo-Mediterranean railway, Persia, as Mr. Curzon says, plays a "prominent part," and, therefore, the future of Persian railways is "endowed with a more than local importance." The longer Russia pursues an illiberal policy of obstruction, the stronger will grow England's hold on the trade, wealth, and national life of Persia.

The question of Persian railways is, as Mr. Curzon puts in, "in the air." Russia is now peaceably disposed; we have an able minister in Sir Mortimer Durand; and every circumstance seems to be favourable for settling this much vexed question.

But other obstacles to trade exist in Persia besides want of railways and roads. We have referred to one or two of these, such as the want of a stable government, and the weakness of the central authority, which are of extreme importance even for trade; and there are several others besides. As for the weakness of the government, it may be remembered that we stated that a petty Arab revolt near Bunder Abbas had had the effect of seriously interfering with its trade during the year we are

glancing at. The littoral of the Persian Gulf on its Eastern, or Persian, side is largely settled with Arabs, who have crossed over at one time or other since the Muhammedan era. One large province of Persia to the North of the Gulf, where Arabia is conterminous with Persia on land, is even called Arabistan. It is not, however, to be supposed that, because these people happen to be Arabs, they necessarily give trouble. It is the same with regard to the Kûrds in the North-West, and with other tribes in the South-East. It means simply the weakness of the central government, coupled with illegal exactions, stretches of authority, and capricious action of provincial rulers and authorities. In reference to the matter of the Arab trouble—"revolt" it is called—near Bunder Abbas, we are supplied with the following information, as a preliminary paragraph of the returns, and we furnish it here to show how things such as these go in Persia. Nothing we could say about the effectness of the government could better illustrate it, or its effect on trade:—

"The revenue collections are believed to be largely in arrears, while the state of the district has been most unsettled: robberies and murders by the Arab Nomad tribes being frequent. One of these tribes, the Bahaloo, aggrieved 'at their treatment by the Governor' [these 'Governors' in Persia are as plentiful as blackberries—they correspond to the 'collectors' and other minor civil authorities in India, but are mere *pinchbeck* imitations] "of Darab, went into outlawry in October last (1892). Troops were sent against them from Shiraz under the Il-khani, and they moved with their families towards Bunder Abbas, closing the trade routes, plundering caravans, and spreading the greatest alarm by their depredations almost up to Bunder Abbas. H. M. S. *Cossack* was ordered from Bombay for the protection of British subjects at Bunder Abbas, where she remained until all danger of an attack was over. Persian troops were sent from Bushire and other coast ports in the [Persian] S. S. *Persepolis*, and the Prince Governor of Kerman was ordered to intercept the rebels from the North. The Arabs retreated and no fighting took place. The troops have now returned, and traffic on the caravan route has been resumed. . . . The Governor or Darab has now been arrested."

Such is government in Persia, where a few Arabs, smarting under some injustice, can close up the most important trade routes, and necessitate the aid of several (so-called) armies from great distances (to be traversed on foot); along with a British gunboat to suppress the disturbance! The concluding portion of the account with the statement, that "the Governor of Darab has now been arrested," humorously, *albeit* naively, suggests the peculiarly Persian Nemesis.

Another great obstacle to increase of trade is the system of long credits. Without credit no trade can be built up, or carried on, and many credits even in Europe have to look months ahead. But Persia is not England, nor can Persian traders and mer-

chants as yet claim much stability or rank as "merchant-princes" of the earth. We are even told that many show the least possible inclination to pay at all! The unfortunate people, who after all do a very fair amount of trade in the aggregate, must live; the demands on them are great—especially the private and personal and unexpected exactions sanctioned by Government. Their own people cannot be depended on to keep their engagements with them, and *krans* (Persian silver money) are scarce in the country, besides being mostly bad or clipped. And so, while there cannot be any large cash transactions, credit has to be given. If not given, it is taken, and then it is so prolonged, that there is no fixity or assurance in business. Add to this that they sometimes—as do their betters elsewhere—fail.

As we have said, there is no money in the country. To pay for the imports, they have to send pearls and opium to India and China, and thus obtain money in dollars and rupees—to be paid out here by reckoning in *krans*—to discharge their obligations. An immense impetus would be given to Persian trade by throwing some ten millions sterling of money into the country for the construction of railways. The greater part of it would be returned in trade.

Further, there can be no question that the subject of renovating the silver currency is one that urgently demands attention, both for trade and for ordinary life. We are not sure but that Mr. Curzon mentions the subject of a reformed currency with approval in his work on Persia: we think he does. If the matter was one that attracted attention then, when he visited Persia, much more is the change demanded now. Not only is there not a sufficiency of coin, but there is any quantity of bad coin in circulation, and a large part of what is good is sadly clipped and disfigured. Not that there is any beauty in the coin—which, in this respect, contrasts strongly with the pretty and attractive postage stamps of the country. The *kran* is merely a roughly formed flat lump of silver, with a few Oriental characters on it. It is not even quite round, and its edge or rim is not milled. Not only are private people in their household expenses very much troubled with these bad or deficient *krans*, but the Banks sustain an appreciable loss from them, for they have to take what they can get, but pay out only good coin. Not that they are bound to take deficient or bad coin from any one; but herein again comes into play the "twist" in the Persian character—whether that of Jews, Armenians, or Muhammedans, for all these are equally employed in the subordinate offices of the European Banks. It is at least asserted that, though they take good care to accept only good coin, they also take good care to issue, or afterwards by

some mysterious process find in their bags, a due proportion of bad coin. This ultimately finds its way to the table of the Manager, where it may be seen lying in heaps. The Shah can here really move to some effect, as the matter is entirely in his own hands. It is possible that—according to his usual practice—he is waiting for some European to come forward and pay him for a “concession” to renew the silver coinage. We do not know whether it would pay any one to take up the “concession,” but there is one fatal objection to its success in English, or other European, hands. The native national cry would at once be raised that foreigners were going to destroy the currency of the country—to substitute bad for good—short weight for full—and so on—and the outcry would be so great that, like the Tobacco “Concession,” it would have to be recalled by the Shah with an accession to his unpopularity, and to the loss of the unfortunate, “enterprising” foreigner. But, as we have said, it is the Shah’s own business. With the present low price of silver, he might even make a large profit on the operation—more, probably, than he would if he gave the contract to the “foreigner.” Beautified and improved in appearance, its ratio to the *rupce*—which has been fluctuating greatly of late—should also be determined. The fluctuation going on at present, especially in the wrong direction for the *kran*, is unfavourable to trade, and the Persians are simply confounded at it. The new *kran* might be made thinner than it is at present, more extended in surface (to about the size of a shilling), and so far alloyed with bronze as to give it a degree of hardness for resisting easy clipping, and to make three the equivalent of a *rupce*. This would also have the advantage to the Shah, of giving him a good deal of profit.

We have referred above to the Banks suffering from the bad coin (really through the dishonesty of their own native servants—so, at least, we have been informed);—and we may add here, that the establishment of the Imperial Bank of Persia, with agencies at all the principal towns and cities of Persia, has given advantages to trade which it did not possess before.

The Persians have fairly taken to the Bank; and the profits have been very large. Another Bank—the Ottoman—has also started operations, and so far has been fairly successful. With a stable government, supported on one side by the British, and on the other by Russia, in the work of centralising authority, and establishing *real* departments of State, and the proper machinery of civilised Government; with railways and roads running through the length and breadth of the land; with an improved and stable currency; with

strong banks at all the centres of trade ; with the impetus to increased production given by good government ; with millions of railway expenditure thrown into the country, Persia would take a great leap in prosperity ; and both Russia and England would participate in its advantages. Surely Russia herself must see the advantages of such a policy. Let us trust that, the "lust of dominion" has had its day even in Russia, and that a newer, truer, and more enlightened policy—that of trade, of friendliness, of supporting the *status quo* of other Powers—the same policy which has so marvellously advanced Great Britain among the nations of the earth—will dawn on her with the accession of her present peaceful Emperor. To flinch small bits of territory by surprises ; to keep her weaker neighbours always in apprehension, and her powerful neighbours in a state of tension and wasteful war expenditure ; to place obstacles in the way of the advance in wealth and prosperity of States like Persia, which by such advance would largely benefit her ; to maintain a foreign policy of continual aggression ; and to permit small colonels and border generals to affect her cordial relations with such Powers as Great Britain and China :—all these propensities, which have unfortunately characterised her hitherto, can only retard the development, wealth, and strength of her power. It is her truest and best policy to consolidate herself, and maintain the most friendly relations with all her neighbours ; to really be in "peace," replacing her distant military governors by civilians, of a stamp different from those fire-eating and blustering personages we have been accustomed to during the last half a century.

To return to Persia, there are some other things besides those already glanced at, which have to be attended to in the interests of trade. One of these, is the matter of Customs which require to be made definite and regulated. Owing to the practical decentralisation of the provinces, the 5 % duty at the ports of entry sometimes swells up, as goods pass further inland, to even 10 % ! This was shown by Mr. Curzon as being the case in his day. That it is still the case, may be proved from some remarks in the returns from which we quote, to the effect that an illegal exaction of Customs duty, after passing the port of entry, has been brought to notice, and that the Shah has promised to attend to it. But will it be attended to?—or rather, under the present lax state of affairs, can it be effectually attended to ? This matter of Customs is an Imperial matter, like the Army, the Currency and others. At present, instead of the administration of the Department being centralised, and reserved for the Shah's own direct officers, the duties are farmed out, at rates far below their value, to the highest bidder. In the returns are all the amounts

paid by farmers at the Persian Gulf ports, as also the *inland* customs and *other revenues* of their districts, and the total is 3,060,000 *krans*, exclusive of some obscure items "not ascertained." We may, therefore, put the whole actual total at 3,200,000 *krans*. A very simple calculation of an import trade of two millions sterling with a duty of 5% gives us 5,000,000 *krans*, *i.e.*, 2,000,000 *krans* in excess! If there is a duty on the export of opium, the excess ought to be twice as much. We may note, in passing, that, in the same way, the Shah loses an appreciable sum annually by his strange arrangements for the Post Office, which is also a peculiarly Imperial matter.

The next means of assisting trade in Persia is one to which it is England's duty to look, and not the Shah's. It was noted long ago by Mr. Curzon, and nothing has as yet been done. And it cannot be pleaded here that Russia interfered, for Russia has nothing to do with the matter. It is a fact that, while we seek the growth of our trade with Persia, and actually have, as we have shown by figures already furnished, a full half of that trade, we maintain in the country none of those officers whom England charges to look after trade, save one—we refer to consular officers. We have occupied the Persian Gulf "consular district," as it is phrased, since the beginning of the present century, with our trade, surveying vessels, and even officers; our trade has grown, and, in one or two articles alone—such as piece-goods and tea—might be made to attain dimensions that would quite dwarf the entire present trade; we seek for an expansion of that trade; and yet we leave arrangements as they were half a century ago! "The district," too, is most extensive. It embraces not only the whole Gulf, and its numerous islands, but nearly a dozen larger and smaller "ports," and, from Muscat on the South to the head of the Gulf, and, from Beluchistan on the East to Nejd in Central Arabia, embraces nearly a score of Chiefs, Governments and States! It affects the Eastern half of a Peninsula—Arabia—half the size of Europe, and the whole Southern and some portion of Northern Persia, besides a portion of Asiatic Turkey; and for all this vast extent of country, all these islands and States, and these numerous ports, we have only one European officer, a Vice-consul as he is termed, at Bushire! It is true that Muscat is termed a "sub-consular" district, but there is no special consular officer there; the Indian Political Resident, a military gentleman charged with other duties, being supposed to supervise trade matters as well. Also, a European officer has lately—on, we believe, Mr. Curzon's strenuous recommendation—been stationed at Mohammerah for the Karun River trade, which, as we have

seen from the figures, is so inconsiderable as to be hardly worth noting. It is true, too, that one or two ignorant Persians, or other natives, may be found at other ports, whose business is to collect imperfect returns; but, practically, as we have said, there is only one European officer, and he a Vice-consul, for an extent of territory that would cover more than half the map of Europe!

It is not that attention has not been drawn to this extraordinary neglect, or to the value of our Persian Gulf trade. Mr. Curzon has done both, and very forcibly and prominently; but why some improvement has not been effected is inexplicable. We would advise our Liverpool, Manchester and Birmingham—not to say Bombay, Calcutta and London—merchants to form deputations to make the lives of Secretaries a burden with regard to this very important matter. We would recommend them not to be content with barren and evasive replies, but attack by turns also the Board of Trade and the Government of India. Let them ask for a “full” Consul for Bushire, with “Vice-consuls” at Muscat, Bunder Abbas, Linggah, Kowait, Bahrein, Ojair, and the Karun River, and persist till they succeed. As we have stated, an officer has already been appointed for the last place. But no one can imagine why a port like Bunder Abbas, with a trade that affects the whole of East Persia as far North as Meshed (and even to Bokhara), should be left out in the cold. Mr. Curzon, in his valuable work, chiefly on political grounds, recommended a whole line of Consuls to be appointed in East Persia, from Bunder Abbas to Meshed. Such a recommendation, without the railways and roads that we have advocated, and in the present politically unsettled and feeble character of East Persia, may be premature. But we recommend, on commercial grounds alone, the appointment of at least two more “Vice-consuls” for the Persian side and two others for the Arabian side, assuming that Muscat is already partially provided for, and that Bahrein may be neglected for Ojair. A picture of the busy trade at this last place, as described by an eye-witness only a short time ago, we have already furnished. As for Kowait, the other port on the Arabian side, where we would place a European Consul, it was described, as long as thirty years ago, by Sir Lewis Pelly, as the very busiest port in Arabia. His language is terse and graphic, and his words will carry more weight than ours. Here is what he says:—

“Koweit is one of the most thriving ports in the Persian Gulf. Its crafts are large and numerous, trading with India and the Arabian coasts. Its sailors are reputed the best in these regions. Its trade is considerable; importing rice from Shuster, Bussorah, and the Malabar Coast; corn from the Persian Coast; dates from Bussorah;

and timber for ship-building from the West Coast of India. On the land side it barter with the Bedouins, who, during the winter and spring, bring down 'roughan', wool, and horses; exchanging these for coffee, rice, and other necessities. The Bedouins have free access to the town, on condition only of leaving their arms at the gate, where the Chief Shaik and the Kadis sit daily to hear the news, superintend trade, and administer justice. A large dinner is prepared daily in an allotted hall for the entertainment of strangers. The currency at Koweit is a Maria Theresa dollar, Persian *krans* and Turkish copper coin. English sovereigns are occasionally to be found. Bills can be obtained on Bussorah, Bushire, Bombay, and the Wahabi capital [in Central Arabia]. The inhabitants, Jews included, enjoy complete religious toleration. *No taxes or duties are levied.*"

This was written some thirty years ago, and, of course, the trade must have vastly increased, though we can know nothing about it, owing to the want of a Consul there, and we are not sure that it still continues a free port. At any rate, we should have a Consul or Vice-consul there.

It is not difficult to see why and how the Consular Service in the Persian Gulf has been entirely neglected and starved till, as it stands at present, it is merely nominal. Our presence in the Gulf at first was entirely for trade purposes, and we may presume that the same reasons account for our being there at present. In those days our representatives were really and truly "Trade-masters," or Consuls, as we may term them, and to increase the trade was their first and great object, "political" matters being subsidiary to that. Curzon notices in his invaluable work, that in 1822, a general review took place of the various stations in the Persian Gulf. Factors and brokers were henceforward denominated "Residents," and the entire establishment was rendered a *political charge*. They were no longer the *employés* of a Company; but the billets were reserved for favoured Indian Military officers! And so it has come to pass that these officers, who know little of trade, and care less for it, and who absorb, in their enormous salaries, the pay of a dozen or a score of Consuls, and are merely Political Officers, have completely left out of view the primary trade-import of their appointments. And yet, as Mr. Curzon writes:—"In the furious commercial competition that now rages like a hurricane through the world, the loss of a market is a retrograde step that cannot be recovered; the gain of a market is a positive addition to the national strength." As will be seen from figures which we shall furnish hereafter, it is not quite certain that British trade has really made any progress in these parts for many years. At any rate, no other result than that of checking the full and proper expansion of our trade in the Persian Gulf—with Persia, Arabia, and Turkey,—can be expected under the present anomalous and perverted condition of things.

There are four military officers representing the Government of India—and not trade—from Muscat to Baghdad, and there may be five or six, if Military Surgeons are also counted ; and some of these are on receipt of £2,000 a year, with other "allowances." For some of them there can be no possible work of any kind. Considering the very reason of their appointments—British trade—the merchants of London, Liverpool, Calcutta, Bombay, and Manchester may well feel disgusted at this "taking care of Doub" at the expense of their interests ; and if they choose they can put the matter upon its proper footing again, either through the Secretary of State at home, or through the Viceroy of India. No more than one "Resident" is needed for the Gulf from Persian Beluchistan to Baghdad, and one Assistant Resident at Muscat. Baghdad—a much cooler place than Bushire—would be the summer quarters of the Chief Resident, with Bushire and other places for the winter, during which, however, he should travel about. The "Consular Service" should be entirely dissociated from the Political, and, with the saving of the salaries of the three or four Military officers not required, half-a-dozen European Vice-consuls might be appointed, all working under and together with the officer at Bushire, who should be a "Consul" on an adequate salary, and not an office assistant who is merely called a Vice-consul and who receives "board allowance." This Consular Department should be directly responsible to the Home Board of Trade, or the Bombay Government.

As stated above, our London and Liverpool, Calcutta and Bombay, merchants have the remedy in their own hands. As things exist at present, there can be no legitimate expansion of British trade ; only a huge "political" excrescence overshadowing it and benumbing it. Finally, there remains the Karun River to notice. If it were really (and not as at present nominally) opened to trade—the Persian officers at Mo-hammerah being appointed by the Persian Government with the sole view to that, and the road beyond Shuster being made—, then it would be one of the most valuable elements conducive to the prosperity of British trade in Persia. But though a British Steamer Company is in existence there—hopelessly fighting against Persian duplicity—, neither is there the road required, nor do the Persian officials do anything except offer every kind of opposition—so much so, that the scheme has not advanced a foot during the last three years, even though we have a real Consular Officer there.

ART. VIII.—REMINISCENCES OF SAMOA.

WHILST sitting in my lone study, by the fireside, on a winter evening, and gazing into the cinders of a nearly-extinguished fire, my eyes close and my thoughts wander far away. I gradually fall into a doze, when suddenly I seem to hear a delicious, rhythmic melody, and a chorus of voices vibrating in the air, accompanied by the splash of paddles, and I find myself carried off in a huge canoe, a soft, balmy breeze fanning my forehead. I am in the midst of the ocean, smoothly gliding over the blue waves; the moon, just risen in the horizon, makes them appear like gleams of silver. In the distance I see land, mellow, undulant hills, sloping towards the sea, and covered with high palms, pointing in all directions, and, in the moonlight, seeming like ghostly giants, beckoning a friendly welcome to their enchanted shore. In the canoe, brown stalwart men are sitting, paddling softly over the water, and singing. As we approach the shore the singing ceases, and I hear nothing save the surf, rumbling and rolling. At last the canoe stops; the men step out into the water and carry me ashore. Here I am met by a dozen or more friendly faces; we shake hands and proceed to a huge kind of cottage, open all round, and supported by wooden pillars: we sit down on the floor, which is covered with straw mats. A young maiden hands me a bowl, filled with a most delicious beverage, while a sturdy old chief begins a long speech of welcome in an unknown tongue, soft and melodious as the sound of an *Æolian* harp. I gradually fall fast asleep under the influence of the harangue, and then wake up with a start. The whole vision has passed away; I am once more back in my own room: the fire has died out, and all I hear is the wind howling outside, and the rain pattering against the window pane.

It was but a dream, a dream of sweet remembrance: and I think with a sigh of beautiful Samoa, and the happy days I once spent there.

So much attention has lately been given to the Samoan islands by the outside world, on account of their political turmoils, that a slight sketch of the islands and their inhabitants may be of interest.

The Samoan or Navigator's Islands form a group of five islands, situated in about fourteen degrees latitude, south of the equator. In spite of their proximity to the equator, the climate of the islands is not unpleasant; during eight months of the year, a regular trade-wind prevails, and prevents the heat from being oppressive as it is in India. It is a climate that invites to

languidity and pleasure, but hardly to contemplation. The worst time of the year is between January and April, the sub-tropical summer. This is the rainy season : sometimes it pours down for weeks at a time ; the atmosphere is damp and muggy, and heavy black clouds cover the sky like a veil. March is the stormy month : high winds disperse the clouds, and the otherwise calm Pacific becomes turbulent. It is a dangerous time for seafarers, but most dangerous for those whose ships lie in the harbour of Apia, where the surf towers mountain high. Numerous ships have been wrecked there and the fearful catastrophe of 1890, when, out of seven men-of-war lying in the harbour, only one escaped the general disaster, is still fresh in the memory.

The scenery of Samoa is very beautiful. All the islands are covered with high wooded hills, sloping gradually towards the sea, interspersed with narrow valleys or gorges. Many a little bay nestles under the hillside, the outlet of numerous streams, which here and there form a cascade. At some distance outside the coast is a barrier reef, which, in the case of the principal island Upolo, stretches almost round it, and inside the reef the sea is generally smooth and free from sharks. All the villages are situated by the coast, the interior being scarcely inhabited. The soil is of volcanic origin, and the vegetation is rich and luxurious ; lovely palms and ferns grow in profusion, and bread-fruit trees shade the village cottages ; but the greater part of the islands is wild and uncultivated, and even the pineapple grows as a weed on the straggling paths that lead to the interior. The only cultivated land met with, consists of coconut plantations belonging to foreign merchants, and a few patches of taros and bananas, near the villages, looking rather shabby. All the rest is more or less jungle, but it is only lack of enterprise on the part of the inhabitants which accounts for the wild state of the country ; and it would not require so much labour to make of the surroundings of Apia a garden of Paradise, such as, for instance, Honolulu.

Of animal life there is hardly any, except a few tropical birds and lizards, and fishes in the streams. The absence of all venomous creatures, with the exception of cockroaches and mosquitoes—which I believe are both of foreign importation—is very delightful to the wanderer in his rambles through the forest.

The natives of Samoa are of special interest to the ethnologist, as they have, in spite of foreign influence, retained many of their ancient customs unimpaired, and also on account of the resemblance they bear to the natives of other islands of the Pacific. The Hawaiians, Tahitians, Samoans, New Zealanders, and many others, are all akin, and their dialects are

very much alike. Naturally, they are all more or less mixed up with other races; the Tahitians are the fairest and purest; next to them come the Samoans, and the New Zealanders are the darkest, and present the strongest elements of a more savage race. Still, it is possible to trace the aquiline, fair features of a higher race of people, of which these island-dwellers—generally called Polynesians—are the remnants.

As to their origin, divers theories exist. The current one is that the Polynesians are Malaysians with an admixture of Papuans. A different theory is held by A. Fornander, a Swedish savant, who lived many years in the Hawaiian islands. He admits that the Polynesians have both Malaysian and Papuan blood in their veins, but assigns to them a far higher origin. He contends, in other words, that they are descended from the Aryans, and tries to prove this through the similarity existing between roots of Sanskrit words and Polynesian dialects. But there is a strong objection to this theory; the structure of the Polynesian tongues and Sanskrit is different,—the former are primitive, agglutinative, while the latter is highly inflectional. Fornander, therefore, considers that the Polynesians must have migrated from their Aryan parents at an early pre-Vedic period, when Sanskrit, or its mother-tongue, had not yet become inflectional. Thus the Polynesian languages would originate directly from the oldest of all Aryan dialects. As to the Malaysians, he thinks that they have borrowed from the Polynesians, as Polynesian words are found in Malaysian, but not *vice versa*.

It is hard to believe that the Polynesians, with their clumsy canoes and without a compass, should have migrated all the way from India to the Pacific. Nevertheless, in many of the islands traditions exist both of migrations and of an origin from the "setting sun." In Samoa this distant unknown land is called Pulo-tu, "to which the spirits of the dead returned to join their ancestors."

Whatever the origin of the Samoans may have been, they certainly at present rank higher than the ordinary savage. Their outward appearance is striking; the men are tall and well built, and have handsome, regular features. Their complexion is copper-brown, their hair black, but they have a habit of dyeing it a reddish yellow colour, by the application of lime. The women are of smaller stature than the men, very graceful and remarkably erect and dignified in their bearing. They remind one of the Japanese women, but their individuality is stronger. They are generally good-looking, except that their noses are slightly flat—they consider it as a mark of beauty, and children of both sexes have their noses artificially flattened when quite young.

The clothing of the Samoans is very simple. As a rule, both men and women wear round their loins a girdle of red leaves or a piece of "tapa," the native cloth, which is made of the paper mulberry leaf. On festive occasions they adorn themselves with shells, beads and all sorts of finery, and wear their fine mats. These mats are thin and flexible, take a long time to make and are of great value. They form the principal articles of property and merchandise, and the wealth of a Samoan is estimated according to the quantity of fine mats he possesses.

The men tattoo their bodies, especially their knees, in a fashion that at a distance gives them the appearance of kneebreeches. The tattooing is a very painful process and lasts sometimes, several weeks. The young Samoan who wishes to be tattooed goes out into the woods with the tattooer and remains there during the operation, and food is brought out to him. The instrument used is a piece of human bone. When he returns to the village, after the tattooing is done, a feast is given in his honour. Tattooing was formerly looked upon as an essential mark of dignity and manhood, but is now falling into disuse, since the natives have learnt from the missionaries to cover their knees and bodies with European cloth.

The natives live in round open huts with an enormous slanting, thatched roof like a beehive resting on wooden pillars. The floor is generally covered with mats, made out of the cocoanut leaf, and is kept very neat and clean.

Cleanliness is one of the virtues of the Samoans. They bathe every day, wash their heads with lime-juice and anoint their bodies with cocoanut oil.

The food consists of taro, yams, cocoanuts and bananas, and, since the advent of Europeans, of pigs and fowls. The cooking is mostly done with heated stones, under which the food is laid, covered with leaves, which gives it a slightly aromatic taste. As everything grows almost without cultivation, there is not much need for labour in the islands, and the women do all that is necessary, looking after the taro patches and performing the general household duties. The men have a natural aversion to manual labour, the chief reason of which is, perhaps, that property is held in common and an individual hardly has anything which belongs to him exclusively. The people in the villages are divided up into clans. At the head of each clan stands a chief who is looked up to with reverence, by the others, and who has the direction of the common property of the family. If a man earns anything by working in plantations or otherwise, his relations are sure to come and share it with him.

Besides this, the thorough-bred Samoan considers all work, except boating and fishing or going to war, beneath his dignity, and, when not thus occupied, he spends his time in social duties and pleasure. The Samoans love feasts, and hold them on every possible occasion. Each epoch of a man's life is celebrated by a feast; his birth, when he is big enough to run about, when he reaches manhood, and when he marries. This last event of his career is considered the most important. All friends and relations, near and far, join together and make merry, and receive their share of pigs and cocoanuts. With the bride follows a considerable dowry, consisting of fine mats, and very often marriages are contracted merely for the sake of this dowry. Love matches are also made, and if the parents are loath to consent, an elopement takes place. Divorces are not infrequent, but a wife cannot marry again while her first husband is alive. A chief may have several wives, but polygamy is of rare occurrence, especially since the natives have embraced Christianity.

The Samoans are a very sociable people, and the inhabitants of one village often troop off to pay visits—so-called *malangas*—to their friends in another village, when they are hospitably entertained by the latter—hospitality is a virtue practised by all Polynesians. These visits occasion the full display of all the minute ceremonies which are so characteristic of Samoan life.

Both men and women are very polite in their manners, both among each other and to strangers, and are always showing one another all sorts of delicate attentions, which one finds only among well-bred people in our parts of the world. The Samoan is also a very aristocratic being, and thinks a great deal of rank and pedigree—some of the Samoan chiefs trace their ancestors back to forty or fifty generations, and uses all kinds of ceremonies in daily life, which to us appear stiff and formal. For instance, when several Samoans are out for a stroll, they never think of walking side by side, but march solemnly one after the other, according to rank. When visiting each other, the visiting party walk inside the hut, shake hands all round, and sit down cross-legged (they have a curious inimitable way of placing the right leg over the knee of the left, while the right knee touches the ground). Then, after a pause, the host, or one of his friends, begins a long speech of welcome, listened to with solemn attention by the guests, now and then interrupting the speaker by a grunt, something like: "it is too much," "I am highly flattered," and so on. Then one of the guests has to answer, and the host sits with downcast eyes and takes in the compliments. These are the inevitable opening ceremonies for a visit, and are of daily occurrence. I have seen two old men all alone in a hut making speeches to each

other. Behind the host are grouped his family and servants. In the meanwhile a young girl is called in (if the guest is a high chief, the "taupo", or village maiden) to make kawa, the national beverage. It is made out of a root, and is either ground, beaten or chewed by the young lady herself (the Samoan girls have beautiful white teeth) who prepares it. The natives prefer it made by the last method; she chews it for a few minutes, then mixes it with water in a big bowl and cleanses it till only the fluid is left. Now it is ready, she claps her hands, and another girl or servant brings it round in a cup, made out of the cocoanut, handing it round, describing a ceremonious circle with her arm to each one according to his rank, the higher the rank the wider the circle. A special man, the butler, or village master of ceremonies, calls out whose turn it is. The receiver bows his head, pours out a little outside the hut as an offering to the gods, says "manuia" (the American "how") and drinks it all in one draught. It tastes to a new-comer rather like soap-water; but, having once got accustomed to it, one finds it delicious, stimulating but not intoxicating, the best beverage imaginable in a hot climate. The natives indulge in it very frequently without feeling any the worse. If taken to excess it is said to have a paralysing effect on the legs, but I never saw such a case. After the kawa, more speeches follow, or merely gossip and more kawa, and finally the visitors take their departure. Having got used to these ceremonies, which at first are rather trying, especially sitting cross-legged for hours, one finds the Samoans a kind-hearted, sociable people; rather lazy, but then there is not much to be done. It is agreeable to be among people with whom one feels perfectly safe, and who are always polite and courteous; but then they expect the same in return, else they show their disgust in various ways.

I made an interesting tour around the principal island, Upolo, with the Chief Justice, who is a countryman of mine, and was sent out to restore peace and order in Samoa. We travelled in grand style, accompanied by three "faipules" (members of the Samoan Government), the "Secretary of State," a Samoan who spoke English and acted as interpreter, and two men of the native police force in full uniform, consisting of a red and white cap, ditto jacket, and a lava-lava, or girdle made of "tapa." As there are no roads in Samoa, we went by water in a large canoe, paddled by natives, following the coast inside the reefs. The Samoans are first-rate oarsmen, and pulled us swiftly along, while an old chief sat aft by the rudder. Sometimes we got into the surf, where it was difficult to keep the balance. At one place when the canoe came near upsetting, all the Samoans jumped into the water and carried

the canoe, with the Chief Justice and myself, on their shoulders, right through the breakers.

While pulling they sang their quaint melodious songs, some of which are still ringing in my ears. The natives have a store of old romantic legends, describing heroic exploits of their forefathers and themes of love, chanted verse after verse in the same strain. They also improvise a good deal, singing the praises of some beloved chief. Their language lends itself admirably to improvising: it is soft and full of vowels, and teems with flowery figures of speech. I remember a young Samoan, the bard of our crew, who described our tour in a very poetical high-flown style. The songs are, as the words, melodious, and the sense of harmony is still more developed; it is often wild, like the Hungarian music, but not harsh. They generally sing in chorus, or in antiphony, and the assortments of the parts fall quite naturally. A tero begins with a melody; then the others fall in, while the solo singer continues with his strain, but soon his voice is drowned, or melts in with the others, and the effect is indescribable. Imagine, the surroundings: a lovely night, and the moon shining with a peculiar intense light which I have seen nowhere save in the islands of the tropics; and the natives paddling in tempo with their songs. There is a curious kind of vagueness in the modulations and accompanying trills; the melodies are hard to catch: it is like a sea of melody with the waves rising and falling one on top of the other. The modulations are fine and soft, and softness is perhaps the best expression of the Samoan character. They are soft, and it is a true softness, with no sudden outbursts of passion, and therein lies the charm of the people.

For a savage race, their morality stands high. They have an institution resembling that of the *Rosière* in France. In each village there is a maiden, called the *taupo*, who is honoured beyond all others. She leads the *talolos*, native feasts, and the *siwa*, native dance, and ranks highest next to the chief. She is elected by the female community, who generally choose the noblest and prettiest girl of the village. She must be a pure virgin, otherwise she is driven away from the village and none of her own people will speak to her again. It is every girl's ambition to become a *taupo*, not only for the sake of the honour and glory, but also because a *taupo* generally marries a high chief, when she, of course, ceases to be *taupo*.

At every village we came to we were received with great ovations. We lived in the hut of the principal chief, in which a partition was arranged for our benefit. We slept on their mats, which they placed in thick layers, and used a piece of

tapa as pillow. The Samoan pillow consists of a thick bamboo-cane, but that was rather too hard for our necks. We shared in their food, taking it with the chief and his wife. We grew to be rather sick of Samoan eatables; they were brought to us in every village in great profusion, at the talolos that were given in honour of the Chief Justice, generally a short while after we had gone through the usual speeches and kawa-drinking in the chief's hut. All the people in the neighbourhood used to assemble. A distant rumbling of voices notified their approach; first the taupo appeared, clad in all her finery, beads and flowers innumerable, a handsome girdle of leaves round her waist, her body shining with cocoanut-oil, her head covered with a tremendous peruque made of human hair with a little mirror in the middle, and a big stick in her hand, which she threw up in the air and caught again. She was accompanied by two or three men (one of them often a hunchback), the village drolics; some with their faces painted black—a sign of war—and making the most unearthly yells, springing at people with war cries and then suddenly collapsing with a grin. After the taupo came the chiefs, also in gala, followed by the rest of the people. All went up to the Chief Justice, laying their eatables at his feet, each chief holding a cocoanut, yam, or even a pig, as a mark of respect. The taupo threw a wreath of flowers round his neck and the biggest chiefs shook hands with her. They then squatted round at a respectful distance, and after a short interval of silence, supposed to bring on the mood, a chief stood up, leaning on a long staff, and holding a kind of fly whisk in his hand—the emblems of a chief—began a long speech, full of compliments, in his native tongue. The Chief Justice then made his political speech in English, which the "Secretary of State" translated word for word—with what degree of exactness I was not able to judge. Then followed other speeches, and finally the parties dispersed.

In the evening we used to sit in the chief's hut and watch the siwa-dance, which is very pretty. It is danced sitting, by half-a-dozen young maidens, with the taupo in the middle. They move their hands and arms in a graceful, rather languid manner, singing or chanting, with a kind of drumstick to beat the time and an accompanying chorus behind. After a while the taupo gets up and continues the dance standing, or performs a pantomime with one of the village drolics, representing the stealing of a child or a pig, or a love scene. The dancing gradually gets wilder and the singing quicker, till the dancers have to stop for breath and sit down exhausted. The scenes enacted are often witty and amusing, seldom objectionable, although perhaps not always in accordance with the more refined tastes of civilised countries. Our host

gives the sign for breaking up, and we say good night and retire to continue our happy existence in dreamland.

Thus we passed a week, travelling from village to village, never encountering a single "white", except a few missionaries, and at the end of our tour we wondered why such a thing as civilization should ever have been invented, when we could exist so well without it.

Once back to Apia, we leave all the primitive island life behind us and enter into quite a different atmosphere.

Apia is the centre of activity, of all the political intrigues and strifes that have been going on in Samoa for the last ten years. The town is built half in European, half in native style, and numbers two or three thousand inhabitants. The most curious assemblage of people is that one meets on the principal street, or road, of Apia. Merchants of every description and nationality with their clerks, sailors, from the men-of-war, out on a spree, "civilized" natives and half-castes, women of questionable fame and the so called *beech-combers*—mysterious individuals that are always found in the ports of the Pacific, with no ostensible occupation, a kind of vagabond of the Pacific. These classes of people are usually found in the grog-shops, of which there are a good many in Apia, and there one is sure to hear the latest news or political scandal of the day. Gossip is very common in Apia, and any rumour, whether true or false, always spreads with the quickness of lightning.

There are two parties among the Europeans of Apia, with opposed interests, the Germans and the Anglo-Americans. The latter even has its own organ, the *Samoa Times*, edited by an ex-carpenter, and this paper has ever been a source of offence to the Germans, although its tone, on the whole, is moderate.

For the last ten years Samoa, and especially Apia, has been the scene of constant trouble, and there has been no order or peace in the islands during this time. The whole story has been admirably told by Mr. R. L. Stevenson, in his "Eight Years of Trouble in Samoa." The origin of the evil lies probably with the first planters. The Samoans have but vague ideas of money-making and business, and when Europeans came to the islands and planted acres of cocoanuts, the natives looked on with astonishment. With their social system of communism, they had some difficulty in understanding that they were not allowed to pick the cocoanuts at the plantations. One of these plantations, belonging to a German firm, grew to a considerable size, and perpetual quarrels took place concerning thefts of cocoanuts, and the German merchants with their abrupt manners, did not make themselves much beloved by the natives. The

Samoans, on their side, had cause for annoyance. The Germans imported Kamakas, natives of the Solomon Islands and New Hebrides, a race much inferior to the Samoans. They were employed as labourers on the plantations, but used to run away to the bush, where they were suspected of all kinds of crimes, even of cannibalism.

The Germans appealed to the King of Samoa to get redress against the coconut thieves; the king, Malietoa Laupepa, is an amiable but rather weak man, and besides, he is far from being an autocrat over his subjects. He tried for some time to come to terms with the Germans, but at last, in despair, threw himself into the arms of the English party, offering the whole of Samoa to Queen Victoria. The Germans then deposed him as a "traitor," and put up in his stead another chief, Tamasese, supported by a German prime minister. A war ensued between the two kings, waged in Samoan fashion, with high shouts and much firing, but the damage done on either side was very small. Finally Laupepa, to make peace with the Germans, who were threatening severely, gave himself up to them as a prisoner of war, and was sent as an exile on a German man-of-war, far away to the Cameroons, where he seems to have had a bad time of it. Tamasese was now king, and his prime minister tried with much energy and ability to restore order and peace in the country, but their reign was short. The discontented Samoans elected another chief, Mataafa, to replace Laupepa during his exile. This Mataafa is a strong and intelligent man and soon gained a complete victory over the puppet king Tamasese.

When a party of German sailors landed to rescue Tamasese, fifty of them were shot down in ambush by Mataafa's men. This was a serious matter; all the prestige of the invincibility of "whites" was gone, and the Germans and their infuriated consul began shelling Samoan villages and contemplated further revenge. But the consuls of England and the United States interfered, and it looked as if the men-of-war of the different countries were going to fire on each other, when the great hurricane of March 1890 terminated these dissensions in a wholly unexpected manner. Three American and three German men-of-war were washed on the reef; only one vessel, the English *Kalliope*, braved the storm. The number of people drowned was considerable and would have been still greater but for the Samoans. Mataafa's men, forgetting their feuds, fought a brave battle against the elements, going out in the water among the waves with ropes, which they threw out to the wrecked, and pulled them ashore, thus rescuing friends and foes alike. Such noble behaviour on the part of natives who are looked upon as our inferiors, may well serve to increase our admiration for them.

After the storm, there came a lull in Samoan politics, and it was decided to settle the difficulties in an amicable manner. The Congress of Berlin then arose, and Samoa was there acknowledged as an independent State, but, to keep the equilibrium between the rival powers, it was agreed to name an impartial Chief Justice from some country which had no interest in Samoa, to be final authority in all disputes. The King of Sweden was asked to elect one of his subjects to this important appointment.

Meanwhile, the exiled Laupepa was sent back to Apia, where he was received with open arms by Mataafa, who magnanimously offered to draw back and leave the benefit of all his newly-won honours and glory to Laupepa; but the latter would not hear of this, and so they decided to share the Government between them, or rather to both govern together, while Laupepa retained the title of king, the third king Tamasese, having died of a broken heart during the war.

The joint government went on smoothly for a time, but there were many difficulties to be solved, and the Chief Justice delayed in coming. The worst of these was the land question. Many acres of land had been acquired from the natives by the merchants for their plantations, but during these troublous times many of these landowners had left, and the Sathoans, ignorant as they were as to the rights of ownership, had sold the same pieces of land over again to other merchants, and more land is said to have been bought and sold in Upolo than the area of the whole island contained. In Apia itself there were several claimants to the same property, and altogether immense confusion existed.

Native intrigue, bolstered up by the "whites," gradually worked up the people and helped to keep the flame of dissension alive. Mataafa was growing discontented, and, when at last the Chief Justice appeared on the scene, it was just in time to prevent a new feud breaking out.

The Chief Justice was hailed with delight and was immediately expected to put everything to rights; but this was hardly possible with so many clashing interests, and, when he determined first to study the situation before acting, everybody felt more or less disappointed. Although not responsible for his actions to any Samoan court, he was tied by the Berlin Treaty, which had gone into details and established several institutions of European pattern in primitive Samoa, such as different law courts (one for natives against whites, and another for whites against natives), and a special municipal council for the semi-white town, Apia, the president of which was also chief adviser to the king. This office was held by a German. To settle the land question, a committee of three

commissioners had been appointed, each one representing one of the three Powers, Germany, England, and the United States. The Chief Justice was accompanied by a secretary and an officer of the Swedish army, who was styled "chief of police" and whose business it was to establish a Samoan army after our European pattern, especially a life-guard to the king. I was astonished to see how quickly Samoans could be turned into first-rate soldiers. They took to drilling quite naturally, and in a few month's time their commander had quite a respectable little troop at his disposal.

Thus there were a good many new officials in Samoa, and as they all, with the exception of the land commissioners, were to be paid by the natives, there was not much left for the king himself.

He was lodged in an ordinary native hut of mean appearance, his dwelling presenting a remarkable contrast to the—at least to Samoan eyes—splendid mansions where the Chief Justice and President resided. Not even the ground on which the king lived was his own; it belonged to the German firm, and right outside his hut stood a monument, raised by the Germans, as a memento to the sailors who had been slain in the struggle against Mataafa.

This worthy had now taken up his abode at Malie, about six miles from Apia, and, refusing to acknowledge Laupepa's supremacy, called himself Mataafa Malietoa, and gave himself all the airs of a king, but otherwise was quite peacefully inclined. Popular as he was, he had many followers, both open and secret, and one of the greatest difficulties the Chief Justice had to contend with, was to uphold the position of Laupepa, who had never been quite acknowledged by the natives. In the Berlin Treaty it had been especially decided that Laupepa should be king of Samoa, I suppose on account of the grudge the Germans owed Mataafa. When the Chief Justice made his tour around the islands, he had everywhere to remind the people that Laupepa was their king. In his footsteps followed some agitators of the Mataafa party. I remember well, one day, we went back to a village where two of these agitators were holding forth. The Chief Justice scolded them awhile, and then suddenly left the assembly without waiting for their reply, a sure way to produce consternation among the natives. Some time after two or three old chiefs of the same village came up to the Chief Justice with tears in their eyes, asking if he was very angry with them, because they had listened to Mataafa's men.

Such are the Samoans, ready to listen to the last speaker, cheering or jeering, just as the mood takes them; unreliable as children, easily won by kindness, but never by brutality.

From the beginning of his career the Chief Justice won the confidence of the natives by such qualities as the first named, although they never quite understood the reason of his being sent out to them. A patent sign of their friendly attitude towards him was, that no sooner had he taken up his abode on the historic peninsula Mulinuu, the battle field of Mataafa and Tamasese, than a number of high chiefs began building their huts in the neighbourhood of his house.

With the "whites" the Chief Justice did not get on nearly as well as with the natives. When he arrived, the different parties both sought help from him against the rival enemy, and his position between these contending parties was not exactly a bed of roses. That he positively set himself against any attempts of "whites" to "do" the natives, gained him many bitter opponents. His final decisions, in cases where parties disagreed, were also matter of much comment. The judgments of the municipal council of Apia, which included some of the most influential merchants, were generally appealed against by the consuls; then the case went to the Chief Justice, and, whichever way he decided, he was sure to have the whole wrath of the antagonistic party poured on him, and thus the prediction that he would be the best abused man in the Pacific came true. But the Chief Justice still persisted in the battle, in spite of his health suffering from the heat, until the end of his three years term, which has recently expired.

His aim and object was to better the condition of the natives, to raise them intellectually and to give them self-government, thus making them more independent of white officials. For this purpose he tried to introduce native jurisdiction in the country villages, with the high chiefs as judges; but, with the native love for litigation, and especially for petty intrigues and squabbles, this plan did not work as well as could be wished.

A great source of trouble among the natives was the taxes. The currency of Samoa consists of Chilian dollars, mostly of antique date. It appears that, many years ago, some merchants introduced a quantity of this coinage, interspersed with Mexican and other dollars of precarious value. As there has been no rational method of getting rid of them, they are still passed in the islands, although both English and German gold is taken. To cover the high salaries of the officials, a tax of one dollar *per capita* was laid on the Samoans; but, as money is scarce among the natives, and they have a natural dislike to paying it out, the dollars were slow in forthcoming, and the Chief Justice had repeatedly to remind them to pay their taxes. When I was leaving Samoa, he was contemplating a wise measure, namely, to let the natives pay their dues in kind, especially in cocoanuts, which should be valued at a

certain rate. The merchants strongly objected to this scheme, as the additional amount of copra (the oil pressed out of the cocoanut) would compete with their own. The German firms, not very brilliant affairs, especially objected. All attempts at reform met with the same difficulties, indifference from the natives and opposition from the "whites."

It is a relief to turn away from the wretched quarrels of Apia to the interior of the country, where one can roam about undisturbed and wonder why nature should be so beautiful and man so vile. Following a lonely path, we arrive at a house right in the forest, where a man lives whom it is both a privilege and a pleasure to meet. He is the English novelist, R. L. Stevenson, who has made himself a home, like a forest dweller in the solitude of nature, far from civilization and the disquieting influences of Apia. Failing health having necessitated his seeking a warmer climate, he has travelled far and wide over the Pacific and seen many of the most lovely islands, but has at last settled down for good in Samoa, in a most romantic spot in the forest. An open space has been cleared and a two storeyed house built, very commodious and comfortable. He is surrounded by his wife and family, who form quite a colony together. In the rainy season they all live exclusively in the upper storey of the house, to be away from the intense dampness arising from the ground. For the same reason, one member of the family has built himself a small hut up in a tree, where he lives like a bird in its nest. The family have to rely very much on themselves for everything. The Samoans make bad servants, and the cooking in Samoa is monopolised by about a dozen Chinese, who dress in fine clothes and take high wages, but their cooking is not the very best. The day I was invited to luncheon at Mr. Stevenson's, their Chinese gentleman-cook had taken himself off in the early morning, and, when I arrived, they were all busy getting luncheon prepared, each contributing with a dish of his own making. It was a delightful luncheon in every way, and Mr. Stevenson showed that his talents even extended to the culinary department.

Mr. Stevenson naturally takes a great interest in the natives, and is much concerned about their future. He thinks that the present regime of united protection is disastrous to the natives, and that the islands ought either to be annexed to some Power, or left alone. It appears to me that the only rule under which the Samoans have any chance at all of surviving, or of being allowed to exist in any decent manner, is the English. In Fiji, under the excellent administration of Sir J. Thurston, the natives are in a highly prosperous condition, and in travelling through different countries it seems evident to me that England is the only nation that thoroughly understands the art of

governing savage races. The Samoans must have felt this instinctively, when they proposed to the English Government to annex the islands.

But, even if the conditions were favourable, it is very problematical whether the Samoans could be raised to a more civilized standard without at the same time falling victims to vices and diseases of which they formerly were in happy ignorance. The missionaries have now laboured many years in Samoa, with the result that all the Samoans are Christianized, and in the principal villages there are schools, where natives are taught and even trained to become teachers themselves. Many Samoans at present go out as Missionaries to preach in other less civilized islands. The English Missionaries belong mostly to the London Mission, and have introduced a somewhat stiff form of Christianity.

In the evenings the huts resound with attempts at hymns in a not very musical key, and the Sundays are kept in strict Presbyterian style. I doubt whether the natives think much for themselves, and, from what I could gather by conversing with them, it was rather fear of displeasing the "papalangi" (white) God, than love, that dictated their religious observances.

The Catholic Missionaries seem more to reach the heart of the people. They live in a less pretentious manner than the Protestants, build cottages for themselves, and work heart and soul for their cause. At Apia they have a convent, where young girls receive an excellent education. When I visited Samoa, they were building a large Church not far from Apia. Mataafa is a Catholic, and they naturally take a great interest in his claims. It is a pity that the Missionaries should mix themselves up in political intrigues, but I doubt whether even an angel could remain unmoved by the political rage in Samoa.

The diseases that everywhere follow in white men's footsteps have already decimated the Samoans to some extent, and it seems improbable that they will escape the law of evolution, that, wherever the white race meets with inferior coloured races (except perhaps the Chinese), the latter generally succumb. It is Darwin's "survival of the fittest," a most unjust law, as it is the strongest in intellect and physical endurance, not in morality or spirituality who survive. The Samoans, their faults notwithstanding, are being literally pushed out of existence by a handful of grasping merchants and amateur politicians; and this is a sad spectacle and unfortunately characteristic of the age we live in. Too gentle to compete with the stronger white races, these people will gradually disappear, and one day the soul of Samoa will flit away westward to the "unknown land," perhaps to reappear again, when another law reigns on this earth, not of strife and envy, but of intelligent harmony.

AXEL WACHTMEISTER.

ART. IX.—THE NAIR AS WARRIOR—I.

OF the many interesting races of Southern India, there is perhaps none so peculiarly interesting as the Nairs. Not only in their social and marriage customs, their *tarawad* (joint-family) system and laws of inheritance must they appear singularly strange to a foreigner; but also in their ancient civil and military organizations, their complex feudal tenures, their functions in the body politic, and the not insignificant part they played in many a curious episode of Malabar history. As a race of traditional fighters, too, they are of no less note. From early times, long before Marco Polo beheld the court of Kubla Khan, or the traveller from St. Albans stood before the gates of Peking, to our own day, when the formation of a purely Nair battalion has engaged the attention of Government, and the late Sir James Dormer visited Malabar to study the question *in situ*, the warlike tastes and pursuits of the Nair have evoked general admiration.

Not many centuries have elapsed since the fighting qualities of the Nair inspired the muse of the great Camoens. The soldier-poet of Portugal who accompanied Cabral to India in 1553, and was a principal actor in the scenes of fighting on the west coast, describes them in verse:—

“ Poliar the labouring lower clans are named :
By the proud *Nayrs* the noble rank is claimed ;
The toils of culture and of art they scorn :
The shining faulchion brandished in the right—
Their left arm wields the target in the fight.”

Jonathan Duncan, President of the first Malabar Commission and afterwards Governor of Bombay, who, as Commissioner sent out by Lord Cornwallis, first visited Malabar in 1793, after quoting the above lines from Mickle's Camoens, goes on to observe:—“ These lines, and especially the two last contain a good description of a Nair, who walks along holding up his naked sword with the same kind of unconcern as travellers in other countries carry in their hands a cane or walking-staff. I have observed others of them have it fastened to their back the hilt being struck in the waist-band and the blade rising up and glittering between their shoulders.” La Bourdonnais,† who distinguished himself in the storming of the ‘little town of Maihi’ in 1725—according to Colonel Malfeson the first brilliant essay of arms in India—pays them similar homage.

* *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. V., p. 10, 18.

† M. Esquer's “*Essai Sur les Castes dans l'Inde*,” p. 181, quotation.

His success, accordingly, gave the settlement^c its present French name of Mahe, the first name of that celebrated French soldier, who bore the brunt of many a Nair onset, and had opportunities of forming a just estimate of their worth. Major Munro, famous afterwards as the hero of Buxar, who was mainly instrumental in the reduction of Mahe in 1761, and who in the subsequent operations encountered Nair troops in the field, writes of their 'modes of fighting:—"One † may as well look for a needle in a bottle of hay as any of them in the day time, they being lurking behind sand banks and bushes, except when we are marching towards the Fort, and then they appear like bees out in the month of June Besides which they point their guns well and fire them well also." Again, Dr. Francis Buchanan, who, under the orders of Lord Wellesley, the Governor-General journeyed through Mysore, Malabar, and Canara at the dawn of the present century, expresses himself in a similar strain:—"Both ‡ *Nairs* and inland *Moplays* pretend to be soldiers by birth and disdain all industry. Their chief delight is in parading up and down fully armed. Each man has a firelock, and at least one sword; but all those who wish to be thought men of extraordinary courage carry two sabres." And lastly, Colonel Mark Wilks who, adverting to Hyder Ali's invasion of Malabar in 1766, bore witness to the terrible havoc wrought on the Mysoreans by Nair troops, depicts in relief the pluck and agility they displayed in sweeping on the enemies' columns of march. "The Nairs,§ or military class of Malabar" he writes, "are, perhaps, not exceeded by any nation on earth in a high spirit of independence and military honour; but like all persons stimulated by that spirit without the direction of discipline, their efforts are uncertain, capricious, and desultory."

Here, then, is but another illustration of the adage—"nature makes men." For Malabar is essentially a 'land of the mountain and the flood,' and its local and climatic condition has, as it were, cast in its own mould the life and habits of the people. The position of the country, fenced and cut off by nature's barriers—for do not here, as in Attica,

"The mountains look on *Malabar*
As *Malabar* looks on the sea" ?—

joined to the fact that the people, rent by caste and goaded by faction, led a life of petty perennial warfare, made them a nation of warriors. As in other parts of India, so here, the

* Malleson—*The French in India*.

† *Tellicherry Factory Diary* quoted in Logan's *Manual*.

‡ Buchanan's *Mysore, Malabar, and Canara*.

§ *Historical Sketches of the South of India*.

highest place in and privileges of society—with the exception, of course, of the priestly Brahmin class—appertained to the soldier. Thus the Nairs, strictly speaking, were only Sūdras. Yet they constituted the protective guild of Malabar. They wielded, in the body politic, the sword. They have mostly composed the landed aristocracy of the country; and until 1759 A. D.—the date of Hyder Ali's conquest of the province—the reigning Rajahs, too generally, belonged to this caste.

Mr. Lewis Rice's description of the system of feudal tenure in Coorg might, word for word, be written *à propos* of Malabar. For, like the Coorgs, the Nairs, too, no doubt, had a more or less perfect system of military organization. The militia of Malabar was purely feudal, and was—not unlike its Coorg prototype—'a singular institution' which 'had the appearance of being coeval with a remote antiquity.' There was, indeed, no regular or standing army:

"An active and warlike peasantry supplied the place of disciplined troops. Each ryot was a soldier, not here merely in the defence of his possessions, but in the constant practice of his duties. . . . They held their lands by a military tenure, and in return for the immunities they enjoyed, personal services, to any extent that might be required, became and were equally enjoined and admitted as one of the first and most imperious obligations."

Land-tax in the early days there was none. The Rajahs had only the right to call on their vassals for military service; and every district and village accordingly, was determined by the quota of Nairs it was obliged to put on the battle-field. The territorial unit or parish was the *dēsam* presided over by the *dēsavali*. A congeries of *dēsams* constituted the *nād* or country. This again was partitioned into easy gradations of military service, from the commandant of the *nād* to the commandant of the *dēsam*, who were hereditary noblemen and gentlemen, and who may, perhaps, though loosely, be likened to the barons and esquires of the Middle Ages. The former (the *Nāduvālis*) maintained from 200 to 3,000 men, for which proportionally they had lands given them. Seldom in attendance on the Rajah's person, they might at any time be called out for actual service, offensive or defensive. The defence of the country rested in the hands of those (and those only) who received arms from the king. When each Nair† was of age to bear arms, he presented the Rajah with a gift or *nusser*, and the Rajah in return gave him weapons. The men, while on actual service, earned, if at all, a certain small subsistence. Tributaries on extraordinary occasions not only brought men into

* Coorg Gazetteer.

† Day's Land of the Perumals.

the field—they had to pay contributions for the exigencies of defence against foreign enemies, for example, the Portuguese. They acknowledged the Zamorin as suzerain, and swore to stand steadfast by him. In other respects they were free—they were *soi-disant* Rajahs who wielded (or attempted to wield) absolute local jurisdiction.

Like the Spartan youth of old, every Nair lad underwent from early boyhood a course of severe bodily discipline. Each village had its public class or gymnasium (*Kalari*), presided over by its *Pannikar*, or fencing master. Here they learned to fence, box, and wrestle. They were also taught the skilful use of arms. Nothing, in short, was left undone to give them a sound training. In jumping, archery, and swordsmanship they simply excelled. On gala-days (such as during the great *Onám* festival) exhibitions were held, in the open, of feats of arms or of bodily skill. "It is strange to see," says Johnston in his 'Relations of the most famous Kingdom in the World,' 1611, "how ready the Souldiour of this country is at his weapons: they are all gentile men and termed Naires. At seven years of age, they are put to school to learn the Use of their Weapons, where, to make them nimble and active their Sinews and Joints are stretched by skilful Fellows and anointed with the Oyle Sesamus: By this anointing they become so light and nimble that they will winde and turn their bodies as if they had no Bones, casting them forward, backward, high and low, even to the astonishment of the Beholders. Their continual delight is in their Weapon, perswading themselves that no nation goeth beyond them in Skill and Dexterity." This delineation of a Nair, however, might (as Captain Heber Drury aptly remarks*) more fittingly represent a Parthian horseman, or Roman athlete, than the worn-out, modern-day specimen of this once manly race. Their system and methods of warfare were such as have always obtained in an infant and rudimental state of society. They were innocent of castrametation, tactics or discipline. Of what rigour of discipline—the keystone of an army—might accomplish; of the value of order and arrangement in the disposition of troops; of the skill which sets large numbers of men in motion or aids the evolution of cavalry; of sieges, convoys, or pitched engagements, they knew next to nothing. Their first wars, therefore, were rather of the petty skirmishing type and, indeed, consisted of the combats of chiefs; of ambuscades and surprises; of forays at harvest time, ravaging the enemy's country and racking the inhabitants till they gave up their hoards; of burning, pillage, and rapine.† No sooner did the rival parties meet than they

* *Madras Journal of Literature and Science*, vol. 19, p. 205.

† Vide Abbe Dubois' *People of India*.

fell to reproaches and bravado. Pikes, swords, and spears; helmets, shields, and mail armour; musquets and matchlock guns—these, especially amongst the chiefs—were their weapons in war.

"The military dress of the Nair is a pair of short drawers, and his peculiar weapon is an instrument with a thin but very broad blade, hooked towards the edge like a bill-hook or gardener's knife, and about the length of a Roman sword; which the weapon of the chiefs often exactly resembles. This hooked instrument, the inseparable companion of the Nair whenever he quits his dwelling on business, for pleasure, or for war, has no scabbard, and is usually grasped by the right hand, as an ornamental appendage in peace, and for destruction in war. When the Nair employs his musquet or his bow, the weapon which has been described is fixed in an instant by means of a catch in the waist belt, with the flat part of the blade diagonally across his back, and is disengaged as quickly whenever he drops his musquet in the wood, or slings it across his shoulders for the purpose of rushing to close encounter with this terrible instrument."

Rockets and hand grenades probably were not unknown. Elephants were used with advantage in battle. Those on the animal's back, comfortably supplied with arrows and missiles of all sorts, shot them off with telling effect—and no less evil glee—on the enemy.

"This, all this was in the olden
Times, long ago!"

The advent of the Portuguese about the close of the fifteenth century heralded the arrival, one after another, of other European nations. This led at first (by the introduction of foreigners into the native armies, who thus began to gain a knowledge of Western tactics and skill) to great and sweeping changes in the old-world order of things: for all that, it only contributed eventually to ring the knell of their old martial spirit.

Nevertheless, even after Tippu's Malabar possessions were finally ceded to the British in 1792, the warlike spirit of the people, fostered by three centuries of fighting and ingrained by such desperate enterprises as that of the *Chäver* Nairs, was, in no wise, easily curbed. The famous, though ill-fated rebellion of the *Pycli (Palassi)* Rajah—the most untractable and unreasonable of all the Rajahs, as the Joint Commissioners called him—broke out in 1797. The Palassi family, it may be mentioned, traced their descent from the Kurumbernád Rajahs. The latter became extinct about 1778 A. D., and the former now laid claim to the country which belonged to their kinsmen. Meantime, the three eldest members of the house had fled to Travancore to escape the unheard-of atrocities of Tippu's

soldiery. The fourth, Kerala Vurma, however, had remained behind. He defied the Mysorean—"at times being forced to retire into the woods, and again at times issuing forth with a band of determined Nairs, overthrowing the troops of the Sultan, and levying contributions to a great extent." With a considerable body of Nairs, he joined the English army on its arrival. He not improbably expected that the Hon'ble Company would extend to him the same consideration, as was shown his neighbour, the Coorg Rajah. In this he was disappointed. To his excessive chagrin, the senior Palassi Rajahs returned to Kurumbenád after the British conquest, and were accordingly put in immediate possession thereof. This naturally greatly incensed Kerala Vurma, who now rose in open rebellion. He resolved to hold his own against the English, with the same envenomed vigour with which, but yesterday, he had faced the hosts of Tippu. A general commotion set in, which lit the whole country in one blaze of revolt. It lasted nine years. British blood and money flowed like running water. One of England's greatest soldiers (none other than Col. the Hon'ble Arthur Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington) was in the field. His genius and heroism, great as they indisputably were, could not, in what may be called this guerilla hide-and-seek, make the least head against the enemy. The stability and security of the Government were jeopardised: their resources drained to the last penny. Yet, in the end, British arms prevailed. The *modus operandi* of the energetic Mr. Baber bore fruit. His plan of operations was so far successful, that it reduced the rebels to want. The recalcitrant Rajah was chased beyond the hills and jungles of the Wynád. At length, on the forenoon of the 30th November, 1805, Mr. Baber, with the assistance of Captain Clapham and 50 sepoy, 'after having been out 15 hours,' came upon the rebels in Mysore-territory. A desperate sortie followed. The rebels made the most frantic resistance. They fought to the death, but were all cut to pieces. One of the first who fell was the Rajah, whose 'natural restlessness and ferocity of disposition' (it is recorded) not even his death-throes could subdue. England in the end, like Aaron's serpent, swallowed up the petty chiefships of Malabar. A century of peaceful, beneficent British rule followed. It wrought visible changes in the people's mind. It acted as a solvent on old ideas of society. Altered circumstances arose out of the political change. It rung in an era of peace. It dissolved their wild warlike dreams. Descended from a race who revelled in athletic games and military exercises, comparatively few of them now take to hunting, or even field sports! Thus, as in the case of his neighbours, the Coorgs,

or the Sikhs and Rajputs of the North and North-West, the martial spirit of the Nair has slowly, yet surely, died out for want of exercise.

That the Nair has a good deal degenerated from his former high estate, as a soldier is, indeed, true. Captain Heber Drury, writing in 1858, contrasts his half-effeminate disposition with the martial valour of his fathers, so justly celebrated by earlier writers. He does not, it is said, stand transplantation. The author of the *Land of the Perumauls* dilates in pretty much the same strain on his constitutional sluggishness. 'Indolence,' writes Francis Day, 'constitutes the acme of his happiness'—he prefers a quiet swing in the verandah or a lounge under a tree, chewing betel. And Mr. Logan, who, not many years past, published his *Malabar Manual*, uses very similar language. 'The Nayar,' unlike his ancestors, 'is* more and more becoming a family man. With a large increase in their numbers, and with comparative poverty for the large body of them, the race is fast degenerating.' In these 'piping times of peace,' albeit the Nair has won for himself the character of an extremely peaceful citizen, the old frenzy of the *chāvers*, forsooth, has had a new birth. Is not, one may ask, the fanaticism of the Moplah (*Māppila*) wont to assert itself on the slightest provocation now-a-days—as witness their many frantic onsets on British bayonets within the past decade or two—the newest development of this ancient custom of the *chāvers*? The last scene in the drama of Moplah outrages was enacted only last April at Mannārgāt in the South Malabar District. A band of enthusiasts, thirty-five in number, barricaded themselves in a Hindu temple. The temple they desecrated, and they had to be dislodged therefrom by a shell from the howitzer, on which they rushed out and, making a desperate charge, were received on the bayonet and greeted with a fine volley of magazine rifle bullets.

What then was the custom of these desperadoes of yore, the *chāvers*? We shall here transcribe *in extenso* what Hamilton has to say on the matter:—

"It was an ancient custom for the Samorin to reign but twelve years and no longer. If he died before his Term was Expired it saved him a troublesome Ceremony of cutting his own Throat on a public Scaffold erected for that purpose. He first made a Feast for all his Nobility and Gentry, who are very numerous. After the Feast he saluted his guests and went on the Scaffold, and very decently cut his own Throat in the view of the Assembly, and his Body was a little while after burned with great Pomp and Ceremony, and the Grandees elected a new Samorin. Whether that custom was a civil or religious Ceremony I know not, but it is now laid aside.

"And a new Custom is followed by the modern Samorins, that

Jubilee is proclaimed throughout his dominions at the End of twelve Years, and a Tent is pitched for him in a spacious Plain, and, a great Feast is celebrated for ten or twelve days with Mirth and Jollity, Guns firing Night and Day; so at the End of the Feast any four of the guests that have a mind to gain a Crown by a desperate Action in fighting their Way through thirty or forty thousand of his Guards and kills the Samorin in his Tent, he that kills him succeeds him in his Empire.

"In Anno 1695 one of these Jubilees happened, and the Tent pitched near Pennany (Ponnani), a Sea Port of his, about fifteen Leagues to the Southward of Calicut. There were but three Men that would venture on that desperate Action, who fell in with Sword and Target among the Guards, and, after they had killed and wounded many, were themselves killed. One of the Desperadoes had a Nephew of fifteen or sixteen Years of Age, that kept close by his Uncle in the attack on the Guards, and when he saw him fall the Youth got through the Guards into the Tent and made a stroke at his Majesty's Head, and had certainly despatched him if a large Brass Lamp which was burning over his Head had not marred the Blow; but before he could make another he was killed by the Guards; and I believe the same Samorin reigns yet. I chanced to come that time along the Coast, and heard the Guns for two or three Days and Nights successively."—(*New Account of the East Indies*. Edinburgh 1727; by Captain Alexander Hamilton.)

A somewhat similar custom is mentioned by the Arab chronicler Zeirreddien* Mukhdom, who had exceptional opportunities of observing facts and who visited Malabar during the middle years of the sixteenth century. If a ruler was slain in battle, his army became desperate. They attacked and pressed upon, the enemy and doggedly persisted in paying off new and old scores, by massacring them wholesale. Brimful, indeed, of the same savage infatuation is another strange custom described by two Muhammadans of the ninth century, whose work Renaudot translated. It reflects, as in a mirror, the fiery spirit of the people. A quantity of cooked rice was brought and placed before the king. Forward, of their own will, came a few hundreds of devoted adherents. They received each a handful or so of rice from the king, himself having eaten some. By eating this rice they vowed themselves to the death to him, and punctually burned themselves if the king died.

U. BALA KRISHNAN NAIR:

Asiatic Researches, Vol. V, p. 11.

ART. X.—INDIAN UNIVERSITIES—IDEAL AND ACTUAL—I.

WE are not given, most of us, in busy, work-a-day India, to indulge in idle wonder. We have our work to do, official and other, and the routine of life, if not always stirring, is plainly absorbing. Also it is too hot for the luxury of thought during the greater part of the year ; and in the brief months that are cool, we are too thankful to be physically at ease, too eager to extract some passing enjoyment from existence while the tyranny of the sun is for a little while abated, to find time to speculate on ourselves and our surroundings. Nevertheless, if we happen to think about the matter, the changes now rapidly going forward about us here in the slow-changing East are strange enough, and most significant of all, perhaps, is that development and extension of an educational system on western lines, which finds substantial embodiment in the University of Calcutta and the sister institutions in the other great divisions of the Indian Empire. The Indian University system is, indeed, rightly considered, a passing strange phenomenon, a well-spring of perennial wonder, a portent, pregnant of results, of which no man knoweth the end. The wonder of it helps not, indeed, to settle any one of the many problems with which the subject bristles, yet it might awaken interest, and it does justify the attempt to sift and meditate the problems, and, with the help of time and patience, to grope a way towards a happy solution.

This—in other words, the real vastness and interest of the subject—is the best excuse I can find for the task here attempted, which to some may appear a useless waste of time, to others a gratuitous impertinence. In what sense may one venture to name the ideal in connection with Indian Universities ? The ideal University, doubtfully possible of attainment anywhere, is least of all likely to realize itself through so crude and obstinate a material as offers itself to the western innovator in Hindustan. I fear lest this invocation of the ideal may savour of rank sacrilege, and, if it merit notice at all, deserve to be convicted of folly and presumption. But, in choosing the title of this paper, I do not meditate any such profane and scandalous attempt upon supreme perfection as might be likened to the sin of Ixion and deserve to end in clouds as empty. There is, I am persuaded, a more modest sense in which it is possible to discuss an ideal in relation to Indian Universities, with some hope of profit. It is acknowledged

—at least I do not think this will be disputed⁶—that the Indian University, as it is, is not a completely satisfactory institution ; that it might conceivably be better ; that there is even an indefinitely wide possibility of its betterment. It is allowable, therefore, and even expedient, to use all diligence in canvassing the University *as it is*, with a view of arriving in time at the University *as it might be*. Now it is this merely practical and, as I claim, reasonably modest aim, which I have set before myself, and if my title still seems too high-sounding, all I can say, by way of further apology is, that I did not well see how otherwise to express my purpose. In advancing from the University as it is to the University as it might be, one must necessarily frame some image or conception of what the University might become ; of some standard to be set up ; of some end to be attained ; and it seems to me that this conception of the University as it might be, and as, within the limits of the possible, we would have it, may serve as a working ideal, and may, without misuse of terms, be called the practical ideal for us.

With this end in view, and always in subordination to the ultimate aim of discovering what is practically possible, it seems to me that the most useful light might be shed upon the University as it might be by slightly altering the formula and throwing it into the past "*the University as it might have been.*" In other words, I wish to go back to the beginning, and try to discuss the problem of liberal education in India afresh, in the light of the lessons which sixty years of more or less well meaning, and more or less successful, attempts to grapple with its intricacies have brought.

The University as it is is the offspring largely of occasion and chance—it is a luxuriant growth which, from a small seed, has grown and extended its branches and spread abroad its roots hither and thither, rather as the blind forces of nature permitted, than according to the skill and forethought of open-eyed intelligence. English education began in an obscure and humble way with only the dimmest consciousness of its end and purpose, and has grown and grown, till we have a system whose ramifications extend from Ceylon to the Himalayas, from Rangoon to Lahore. We are only now beginning to conceive of the inner meaning and scope of this great movement, and to forecast the ultimate end to which it all tends. Not but what the founders of English education in India were inspired by a true perception of the ends of liberal education, and joined to their practical zeal an enthusiastic hope for its future effects in India. The end which they proposed in justifying their first modest attempts after better things is the true end, beyond which the most

extensive and far-reaching schemes cannot go. But from the then conditions of the problem, though they attained in a moment of inspiration to the true vision of the end, it was scarcely possible to hold it very vividly in view in the first crude tentatives made for its realization. They necessarily walked by faith and not by sight. We, however much we may fall short in other respects, at all events see this education as a great fact; we see its achievements, we see its deficiencies, we see its dangers; and we may also learn how some things might have been better done and some inconveniences avoided. We may hope to be able to form a better idea both of what was possible and what desirable. We can without presumption lay our finger on mistakes and shortcomings; we can carry ourselves back to the point where ways diverge, and estimate better from the standpoint of to-day, whether the right or the wrong path was chosen.

The task, then, which I propose, is briefly this: to throw ourselves back in thought to the point at which it is first resolved to introduce into India the knowledge and culture of our own time—this so-called English education—and to attempt to reconstruct the whole scheme in a spirit becoming the vastness and importance of the problem. We suppose the conditions to be those then given, and, within the limits imposed, we endeavour to build up, freely, but conformably to reason, the system best calculated to realize the great ends set before us. If we can succeed in this task, and attain to a satisfactory conception of the University as it might have been, I think there is hope that our conclusions will be pregnant with instruction for our present real problem of dealing with the University as it is. We can compare the actual and the ideal with a fair expectation of ultimately finding means to bring the University as it is into nearer accordance with the University as it should be. Having so far justified our method of procedure, we may now yield ourselves up to the luxury of free speculation in the medium proposed. But in order to do so to the best advantage, it will be well first to try and realize clearly the end of our speculative reconstruction, and secondly, to review carefully what the conditions are under which it is assumed to take place.

The end, as I have hinted, we may already find in the spirit which animated the first instigators of English education. However much that end may have been obscured since, it is clearly enough indicated by the pioneers of English education in 1835. Why was there need of a new departure? Why was it proposed to teach English? What was the reason for interfering at all with the venerable and leisurely methods of knowledge handed down in India from primitive antiquity? The end proposed was no less than to give knowledge for

ignorance, light for darkness, culture for superstition, strength of mind for intellectual imbecility. Briefly, the way of knowledge had been lost in India; it had been found in Europe. The lamp of knowledge burned low and dim in India for want of trimming; the wick was smoky, the pang through which it shone obscured by accretions due to time and to neglect. It was to light the lamp afresh, to trim the smoky wick, to cleanse the glass from the obstructions which made the light so feeble and murky. If India was to have any true intellectual life at all, it had become necessary that that knowledge which had once been given by the East to the West, should now be brought back from the West to the East. This was but paying back an old debt; but it was paying back with interest, with compound interest. For knowledge, and the methods of acquiring and using knowledge, had made immense strides in Europe since the beginnings of science and philosophy were transmitted by Phœnician traders, refugee chieftains, and peripatetic savants to the far West. It was this wider knowledge, this ampler power, this more masculine and reasonable investigation of the true and of the right, which it was proposed by the believers in English education to make possible for the peoples of India. The first steps actually taken towards the execution of this grand purpose were of a sufficiently humble and unpretentious description. But if we look beneath the limited and even humorous actuality of the new departure to the spirit which inspired it, we need seek no further for our guiding end, for we find there latent a great and mighty force, the faith in ideas and knowledge for the regeneration of men. Our end, then, is the noblest of ends, the intellectual and moral enlightenment of a people—nay of many peoples. We are making a free and unconstrained offer of the noblest of all gifts—the fair heritage of the best product of the human mind—; we are conferring a boon more glorious than the citizenship of imperial Rome—the boon of the free citizenship of the empire of mind.

This great gift is one which a private individual would, in face of the peculiar circumstances of India, however excellent his intentions, have little hope of making effective. But the conditions of our problem permit us to arrogate to ourselves a good deal. We are supposing that a great and benevolent despotism has realized that its subjects are sunk in a kind of ignorance and darkness, and has resolved in a moment of expansion to put forth its great strength for their enlightenment. How shall it set about the task? Crudely stated, the task is the introduction into India of European literature and science, —not necessarily the diffusion of the alien culture of the West, but the rendering accessible to the thinking few the best results

of European thought and the pursuit of knowledge in accordance with the method of modern science. Now, doubtless, this would require for its accomplishment other things besides purely academic training; but, in so far as it depended on the formal art of teaching and learning, which is all that I am concerned with here, there is plainly in starting one important choice to be made. There are two possible ways in which this new learning might be communicated, and we have to choose between them. The one way is by means of the native Indian languages, by text-books written in the vernacular and translations of European books. The other way is by making English the medium and communicating the thought of the West through the teaching of English and the teaching of literature and science in English. The latter alternative has been adopted, and probably few would question now that it was rightly adopted. In any case the step once taken is irrevocable, and there is but little profit in discussing so completely foregone a conclusion.

I will content myself by briefly reviewing the more obvious considerations, which seem to justify the choice of English. English is one; the languages of Hindustan are many. English is an instrument of thought, well adjusted to the expression of modern ideas; the fitness of the Indian vernaculars to cope with these ideas has not yet been tested. Further, the translations of the books of the world into a dozen or so Indian vernaculars is a gigantic task, which might well stagger the most sanguine, even supposing a sufficiently numerous group of trained scholars were to be found ready for the concerted undertaking. English itself possesses a first-class literature, and it is the original language of much of the best and most stimulative thought of the modern world, while through translations it is a key to all the best literary master-pieces of all time and a great deal of the most advanced science. There are, besides, political and practical reasons for the adoption of English as the means of higher instruction. English being the recognized language of the paramount power, it would in the long run be politically useful to extend the knowledge of English among the educated classes. English, when familiarity with, and perhaps love of it, was extended to the ablest minds of the land, might form a bond of union between the ruling and the ruled, the Aryans of the land and the Aryans from over the sea. And not only so, but, from a standpoint better than political, English might be in time a bond of moral and spiritual sympathy between subjects of one empire who are as yet, unhappily, too widely severed by differences of race, religion, language, social custom and habits of thought.

On the other hand, there will be an immense difficulty to

be faced, in that English is a foreign tongue and a peculiarly difficult foreign tongue to the peoples of India. Before a knowledge of ideas can be taught and learnt in English, there is needed a severe course of preliminary training, in order that the instrument of thought may be acquired. For, as the English student cannot study profitably in a German University without a pretty thorough mastery of German, neither can the Indian student come to his English classes with any prospect of advantage, unless he has received such a grounding in the English language as shall enable him to understand English readily and write it with facility. It may, then, I think, be confidently concluded, that if we are to carry out a great intellectual and moral reform in India by means of English, the corner-stone of our hypothetical University system must be a *thorough preliminary teaching of the English language* to our intended students. Now, the learning of a language other than our mother tongue is to all of us rather a difficult matter—learning it to such a point that we can by its aid grapple with literature, philosophy and the sciences is a yet more difficult accomplishment than learning it for the purpose of ordinary life. How, then, can we attempt to secure an adequate English scholarship in our students, in order to give our experiment some chance of success? The Russians are famous as linguists. The gift of tongues is, no doubt, partly one of Nature's bounties. Nevertheless, some part of the Russian's fame is not less doubtfully due to a wise contrivance. The Russian owes part of his facility in languages to his French governess, his German nurse, his English tutor. Similar luxuries are certainly out of the question in India; but we must, at all events, accept the principle involved, if we wish for any measure of success. That is to say, a foreign language must be taught comparatively early in life, and taught by those to whom it is a mother tongue.

Now we are supposing a benevolently-minded and powerful Government to be setting its hand to this great task of a revival of learning in the Indian empire, and we have to enquire in what degree and manner it would be conceivably possible to use these principles effectively. We want to impart the greatest thought of the greatest minds in our colleges through the English language. In what way can we prepare our student for so momentous a reception? Now, plainly, if our University purports to be an English-speaking University, if it teaches and examines in English, no part of this essential training should take place during the University course of instruction itself. It must have been accomplished previously. But how accomplished? Of course the answer is—failing an adequate private training, which we know does not exist and

cannot be expected—by schools in which a sound English scholarship may be imparted, followed by a sufficiently strict test before admission to our College, or Colleges, to ensure the necessary proficiency in the English language.

Now here we are brought up by very solid practical considerations, which we must by no means shirk—the consideration of the financially practicable. A system of this sort, undertaken by an imperial Government on any extensive scale, is alarmingly suggestive of vast—indefinitely vast—expenditure. Schools with a staff of qualified English masters, colleges with an adequate staff of tutors and lecturers, a University with professorships and endowments, all these are plainly foreshadowed in an ideal system, of which the foundations are to be carefully laid by one of the proudest and most extensive sovereignties the world has yet seen. It is true that we do aim at all these things, and must aim at them, if we possess any self-respect, any familiarity with the meaning and nature of liberal education, any perception of the adaptation of means to ends. Yet our scheme shall not be altogether destitute of modesty, as I had best at once proceed to show. It will soon become apparent that we have to make a momentous choice. We can make our University system little and good, or we can make it big and less good. We can ensure the little we have of it being of the best possible quality by a judicious prodigality—or we can have a great deal of it by rigidly stinting the quality. We can diffuse an emptily pretentious show of education among many, or we can impart an education as thorough as we can make it to a few. Now, I have no hesitation in insisting with all vehemence that, if we are a benevolently-minded and mightily-empowered despotism, as aforesaid, it does not matter how restricted is the range of our organization, but, be its extent great or limited, it must be good, even the best of its kind. If we have only one School and one College in the whole length and breadth of India, we are working soundly and profitably, provided always that School and College are good after their kind. If we have five hundred colleges, five thousand schools, that are indifferent or bad, we are working unsoundly and unprofitably. For, as an enlightened ruling power, our work is *to make a beginning and to set up a pattern; and the one essential of our work must therefore be that our beginning is sound and our pattern the best.*

Let us suppose, then, that we are determined to make our English education—what we have of it—the best possible, and that to this end we are agreed that we must, in the first instance, establish a school where the mere teaching of English shall be carried out on a sound and thorough system. But our

school will be an expensive one for frugal India, where a spontaneous demand for a luxury of the kind has not yet been created. How are we to provide it with students and students of the right kind. Here I think an illustration from the history of English public schools will come to our aid, not a little appositely. Winchester, Eton, Westminster and other of the great English schools were originally foundations called Colleges, and the main constituent of the College was a fixed number of scholars, whose education was nearly or wholly free. Not only did these boys receive freely the best education of their time, but their whole future was practically provided for by the prevalent educational organization. When their school days were done, there were scholarships to take them to the University and provide for them there; and if they were willing to restrict their ambition within the bounds of the clerical life, there were fellowships and ultimately quiet country livings to carry them peacefully to the end of their days. The Colfegeer at Eton, for instance, spent a number of years amongst those beautiful surroundings on the banks of the Thames; then, if successful, went to King's College, Cambridge, and ultimately became a Fellow. The Queen's Scholar at Westminster, scarcely less fortunate, enjoyed the privileges of the ancient College of St. Peter for four or five years, and then had the chance of winning a studentship at the Ch. Ch. Oxford, which was in many cases secured to him in perpetual enjoyment, so long as he chose to remain celibate, and might in (Christ Church) the end be exchanged for an excellent College living, if he fell away to the married state. Even now the English system secures to a clever boy a practically free education, from the day he wins an open exhibition at a public school, till he takes his University degree, with the chance, if he has real ability, of a Fellowship and a learned career. Now these Colleges, which were of the nature of a benefaction to learning and an encouragement to the poor scholar, have formed the nucleus of our public schools. At Eton the whole school numbers to-day a full thousand; the College is still 70 only. At Winchester and Westminster the contrast is only less remarkable. The history has been in each case the same. The statutes of the school contained a provision that a certain number of boys, presumably the sons of wealthy parents, might share the advantages of the school as Oppidani, Commoners, or Town Boys, without being on the foundation itself. The value of this privilege was so well recognized, that, while the number of foundationers remained stationary, the number of Town Boys was constantly increasing, until at last the foundation formed only one small (and select) portion of a great school, and, from being a small and unprivileged adjunct to the

school proper in some cases, the Town Boys have come to be looked upon as the school *par excellence*, and the foundation scholars as a kind of accessories on an inferior footing.

I only cite these facts in the hope, of their affording an analogy, not without instruction for Indian educational problems. Those old pious benefactors have worked a good work and borne abundant fruit beyond the most sanguine expectation in England. Is the East so unlike the West that no hope of similar success might be laid up for a like piety in India? But common-sense here cries out, "What sublime folly! The whole state of things in India is dissimilar; all the conditions are different; the requisite machinery does not exist; the desire to do good works after that kind is, wholly wanting." Yet it is at this very point that light seems to me to dawn in our difficult problem. In India a well-meaning and highly-enlightened ruling power stands in the stead of those pious founders and benefactors, who did such good work in England. No doubt such work is better done by the spontaneous benevolence of private citizens than as part of the routine of governmental administration, however enlightened. But, dealing with India as it is, we wish to be practical, to face the facts in the spirit of the Aristotelian Ethic *ἐκ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων τὰ ἀλλοῖστα πράττειν*. Maybe we cannot to-day have the glory of a Wykeham, a Henry VI, a Colet; but we may have, nevertheless, the glory of a truly enlightened and far-seeing State-education. Only, again, we fall back on our watch-word: this State education must be *the best possible*. It need not be vast of scale; it need not be extravagantly costly: but it *must* be good; it *must* be a pattern and a model.

What I would conclude as to the organization which is to prepare the ground for our Indian University is something like this. In every Presidency of the Empire there should be one or more schools, to which admission is in the first instance gained by Government scholarship only. The age of admission might be from 13 to 15 by open examination. The preparation for these examinations would in itself be a considerable stimulus to education up to a certain standard. The schools should number not less than 50 such scholars—and it would be a further question how soon other pupils should be admitted on the payment of adequate fees. These schools should be entirely under English control and should be modelled, as far as possible, on the type of English public schools. No pains, nor (within limits) expense, must be spared to make these schools thoroughly efficient; and the principle that intellectual training is but a small part of education, will be fully recognized. It will be our endeavour to set up a high moral tone and to foster manliness of character by all available means: physical exercise will form

part of the regular school discipline. The school course should be not less than four, and not more than six years, and should end with an examination, something like the Oxford and Cambridge School examinations, to be conducted (ultimately) by the University. At this examination a certain number of university scholarships should be offered for competition—the scholarships, again, being of sufficient value to provide a fitting maintenance for the student during his University career.

The main business of these schools would be the thorough teaching of English; but the concluding examination would also provide a test of reasonable proficiency in other studies. The successful competitors for scholarships would proceed, as a matter of course, to, and would form the nucleus of, the Government College of the Imperial Indian University. Special pains would be taken that the test in English was a thorough one; to ensure that no successful candidate might fail to profit by the more advanced teaching of the University. The university scholarships should, at all events at first, be a close competition for the Government schools only; but there would be no reason why other pupils of the schools than exhibitioners should not compete for them (if such existed). Whether a fixed number of scholarships should be offered to each school separately, or all scholarships be thrown open to all the schools generally, would be a matter for later consideration. Probably, in view of racial and other differences, close scholarships for individual schools would be the more expedient plan.

As to the important matter of the teaching staff, it would not perhaps be necessary that the English masters should be of that superfine and expensive type turned out by the English Universities. Their principle work would be literally the teaching of English; and that work would probably be best, as well as most economically, done by men whose training education had been less strictly classical. The training colleges which feed the Primary Schools of Great Britain are now producing a thoroughly efficient class of teachers, and it is conceivable that the best men for our work might be obtained by a careful selection among these. They would form a separate educational service, of which the prizes would be the Head-masterships of the various schools, with a possibility of higher prospects in exceptional cases. Yet, seeing that it will be our desire to produce something like a public school spirit in our schools, I only advance this suggestion with hesitation, and as a concession to economical necessity. In so delicate a task as ours, the most refined and even expensive instruments cannot really be too good for the work.

Now, let us see what hopes there are for our Universities on this

basis. First, let us lay down one or two indispensable conditions of a general character. It shall be *one University for all India*. It shall be founded in some favourable climate, where both teachers and scholars shall have a chance of doing good work, *free from the depressing enervation of extreme heat*. Its buildings will be as architecturally pleasing as we can make them, on an adequate scale, *designed to meet their proper purpose*, and fitted up with all necessary appliances. They will be liberally kept up; for, mindful of the subtle influence of surroundings on the mind, we shall take *sedulous care* that order, proportion, decency, seemliness, and, as far as possible beauty, shall characterize our visible University as a whole and in all its parts. These buildings will stand in grounds of a convenient spaciousness, which, whether as gardens or playing-fields, shall be kept in such good order as to form a graceful setting to the University and please and relieve the eye at every season of the year. We shall accept the principle that a healthy University system requires one long break in the year, during which students may pursue their private studies without the distraction of lectures, and lecturers may have an opportunity of writing and revising their lectures, and keeping abreast of the times. We shall provide therefore *a long vacation of at least four months duration*. This will be all the more necessary in India, in that it will be desirable to give our teaching staff an opportunity of returning frequently to Europe, and not only because this will be the only means of keeping their knowledge up to date, but also because it will be desirable for them to keep thoroughly in touch with English life and thought. *They, above all Englishmen in India, must be English, and not Anglo Indian*. There will also be a large amount of literary work to be done in connection with our University, in providing text-books, annotations and other such like aid for our students, which cannot be efficiently carried out without access to better libraries than are as yet to be found in India. It would be worth considering whether the semester system in vogue at Scotch Universities (*i.e.* a single session of approximately six months' duration) would not really meet the conditions of life in India. In either case, one aspect of the matter which ought not to be left out of account is that, for stimulating teaching of an advanced order, a certain freshness of mind is needed, and this freshness is best promoted by complete and thorough change, and a renewal of contact with the chief sources of ideas.

Further, the dignitaries of our University and the members of the teaching staff must not, in character and acquirements, fall far short of the English standard, and must certainly not be below that of other portions of the British Empire—the

universities of Australia and Canada. And, again, the qualifications secured by its degrees must bear comparison with the degrees of other Universities of high standing.

Now, by reason of our school system, we shall have ready to hand a limited number of qualified students, say forty or fifty, annually, to form the nucleus of our classes. We shall require no entrance examination for these—our scholarship examination serving as an amply sufficient test. The courses of study and the number of alternative courses are matters of detail to be settled afterwards, if the general outlines of our scheme find acceptance. But, keeping to the somewhat airy region in which we are disporting, I should say that the ideal University would provide two successive courses, one general, one special. The general course, carrying with it the ordinary B. A. degree, might consist of two sides, a mathematical and a literary, much in the way of the A. and B. courses of the existing Universities. After this there should be one optional course *of at least two full years* in some special subject, qualifying for the M. A. or other corresponding degree. The subjects would include any one of a select group of languages, or some branch of Science, Philosophy, Indian History, and such special faculties as it was expedient to recognize. There should be, again, a limited number of scholarships, enabling deserving students to continue their studies to this culminating stage. The College at which all these scholarships would be held should be called the Imperial Government College, or by some other title indicative of its constitution and origin. Its special characteristic should be, that it is supported by the Imperial Government, and that its teaching staff are mainly English.

This College should be the germ of the University of all India. But it would be not only permissible, but desirable and to be hoped for—nay the very end and aim underlying our whole scheme, the realization of which should be sought for and promoted by every available means—that other Colleges should be founded by private munificence, the imitators and friendly rivals of the Imperial Government College. Among these it is to be expected that the English College would long maintain an easy primacy, and always, it is to be hoped, an honourable position, and so remain to all time as the type and model of what a well-regulated College should be.

As regards internal management, a cardinal principle with our University, whether in its teaching or its examining capacity, will be that it shall possess *a large autonomy*;—shall form, in fact, subject only in extreme cases to the controlling voice of the Supreme Government, *a self-governing corporation*. We are able to premise so much because careful reflection

convincing us that so delicate a task as this education, with its moral and social, as well as its peculiarly difficult intellectual sides, can only have a fair chance of success, if a *certain independence and free initiative* is ungrudgingly conceded to those on whom the task of the practical working of the system is laid. College and University must therefore be so far endowed that a *limited fixed revenue* will be placed at the disposal of the respective Governing Bodies, which they will administer in such ways as they see fit, for the advancement of learning and the promotion of a liberal culture, and the general well-being of the University. Strict account shall, of course, be rendered of all monies expended, and, since Government is paymaster, may be rendered to Government as such, even to that dread name of Demogorgon, name so sinister to sanguine schemers and projectors, whose palace is very properly located in India, where it is better known to mortal man as the Office of the Accountant-General.

If so much is conceded, we may go on to attempt to sketch the constitution of the teaching staff and of the governing organization of both College and University. The first is for us the more difficult and important task. The incorporation of Universities is a business which has been already carried out in India with sufficient facility and success. Here we may recur once more to our cardinal maxim, and remember that, *however small our College is, it is to be good of its kind* and as well calculated as our diligence and contrivance can make it to effect the objects for which it is instituted—the production in its members of a *truly liberal culture*. Now, considering the gravity of the issues and the supreme difficulty of the work we have taken in hand, which is as much an education of character as anything; considering also the manifold perils with which the undertaking is beset, by reason of which *we had better have refrained from meddling with so intricate matter at all than have been content to do it badly*—considering all this and much more which due reflection suggests to the attentive, though it would lead us from our immediate purpose to follow the matter further here—we should surely adopt that among existing systems which has been proved in experience, and is by general consent acknowledged to have had most real influence on character. I allude to the *tutorial system* of the two ancient English Universities, and more especially Oxford.

Every one of our students must be assigned, body and soul, to the keeping of a tutor, who shall be, for the period of his University career and as much longer as may fall out, his guide, philosopher and friend, who shall be responsible for his good behaviour, shall help him in all diffi-

culties, and give him advice in his work. Now I take it that the largest number of pupils that a tutor could effectually deal with would be at the outside twenty, though this again, is a matter of detail on which it is not necessary to pronounce definitely. A greater number would scarcely be possible, because, to keep in touch with all his pupils, a tutor must devote, on the average, an hour a week to each of them :—and, considering that our tutor will have to be also a lecturer, and has other multifarious functions to discharge, this will be a sufficiently heavy tax upon his resources. If our College consists at first of about two hundred students, we shall require a tutorial staff of ten, who will form also our junior College lecturers. On them will fall the burden and heat of the day in the practical-working of our College. They would divide the University course between them in whatever way seemed best. Above these, for the encouragement of more advanced study, and to give our University some dignity and status as a learned body, should be a small number of Professors, who should also act as senior lecturers in the more advanced courses. It would be a matter for subsequent decision whether these should not form part of the University, rather than the College ; but so long as our one College was co-extensive with the University, they should form a principal part of its Governing Body. Over all should be one supreme head, or chief of our College,—Principal, Provost, President, Warden, whatever we like to call him—whose function should be wholly, or almost wholly, *administrative*. It would be in his hands more especially that care should be taken to leave an ample initiative. He should be assisted in his work by two officers, called at discretion, Canons, or Deans, or Proctors, chosen out of the tutorial staff, on whom should rest, in a special degree, the responsibility for the moral and material well-being of the general body of students:

In the general organization and control of our College and University there will be one aim which, before all and above all, those responsible for its administration will set before themselves and strenuously keep in view. It will be their main object to make our University, not a routine of lectures, a mere machine for accumulation and disgorging knowledge, but a life. Every regulation we adopt, every institution we set up, every custom we sanction, will have for its end the fostering and developing of *the fullest and freest University life*, intellectual, moral, social, physical. Nothing less will content us than to see such a life flourishing vigorously; nothing less will meet the needs of the case and the rationale of the University's existence.

We shall unhesitatingly regard physical training as part of the informal business of a University, and to that end encourage

friendly rivalry among our Colleges (when there are more than one) and give to athletic clubs and societies a recognized status and privileges. We shall do our best to promote friendly relations between our University and the outside world, and especially the Anglo-Indian community, by means of athletic rivalry and any other available. All forms of wholesome intellectual activity will equally receive active promotion and encouragement—no excluding politics and social science : for we shall believe that a free discussion of all such topics is much more likely to produce sound opinions in such matters than half-hearted repression. It will be our desire, at the same time, to foster pleasant social relations among our students, and all possible facilities will be given for frequent and friendly intercourse between students and the teaching staff. It will be matter of hope that a large recognition of the social side of their duties will become a tradition with all concerned in the administration of College and University. It is the development and results of this collegiate life to which we shall look for the noblest and best fruit of our scheme.

Such in extremely rough outline would be, I conceive, the model of an ideal College for the University of India, *as it might have been*. The details must be left almost wholly untouched—since this paper has already run to too considerable a length. Some of them, more especially those which concern the housing and supervising of students, the definition of courses of study, the differentiation of Pass and Honour Schools, the arrangement of text-books and examinations, will come partly under review in discussing the existing University system, its merits, and its possible shortcomings. This, together with the possibility of practical advance, I hope to be allowed to consider in a further paper. To the views which I have here ventured to put forward, whatever else may be thought of them, it will probably be objected by any one in India who takes the trouble to read them, that they are fantastic and hopelessly impracticable, even if they be allowed to contain any desirable element at all—an arrant mixture of academic romancing and pedantry. That there is small hope of anything of the kind being seriously taken in hand, I readily admit. That in the existing state of human opinion and practice such a project is virtually impracticable, I reluctantly acknowledge. But that it is in the nature of things, and in the truest sense, *impossible*, I altogether deny, and do hereby engage to maintain, unflinchingly, the contrary. The initial expense of a College truly imperial, would doubtless be great, but not greater than the importance of the work it might do for India and the Empire. And, if the results I anticipate should follow, the expense would tend to diminish, while the substantial gain to Indian and English administra-

tion would steadily increase. I will briefly point out in conclusion in what ways I believe that this would be so.

The first effect of such a system as I have sketched, if worked effectually, would be, I conceive, to gather to itself most of the best intellectual material in the country. Its preliminary tests would be sufficiently strict to exclude all but men of decided ability; its prizes sufficiently great to attract talent. There would be a tendency to form in India a body of highly educated men, held together by subtle links of association, analogous to the ties which unite the old alumni of a great Public School, the sympathies of a common culture, and the memories of a life shared in pleasant companionship; who would acknowledge a certain brotherhood of sentiment and tradition wherever they met, and take pride in reflecting credit on their common 'alma mater' wherever their calling in life took them. Such men would tend to furnish a large proportion of the select body of natives of India employed in the higher branches of the public service. Our College might, indeed, play a somewhat similar part in India to that of Haileybury in regard to the older generations of Indian Civil Servants. Whether these men, practically drawn from the same class as those now filling similar positions, would be the better or worse for this more special training, I leave to the judgment of the discerning. It might be objected that the bond of union thus formed would be too close, and tend to create a narrow official clique, to the detriment of the general interest. I do not think there would be much immediate danger of such a result, and any tendency that way would be counteracted by the subsequent growth of the University. Much would depend on the direction given to these traditions and sympathies by the influences of the University itself. Moreover, this work, important and salutary as I believe it might prove, would be only a part, and eventually a small part, of the work to be done by the Imperial University of India.

For, if the results suggested were to follow, our College and University would acquire a prestige, which would gradually extend their influence. It might be a long time before any considerable number of young men of birth and fortune joined our University for the sake of the social advantages of its training; but sooner or later they would come, I think, and would, by their coming and the independent revenues brought in by their fees, strengthen its position and influence in many ways. Ultimately, I see no reason why it should not become as much a matter of course for the well-born and well-to-do in India, to qualify themselves for their position in society, by passing through the training of the Imperial University of India, as it is in England for the young Englishman to spend a certain

number of years at Oxford or Cambridge. If this should come about, as I think it surely would come about at last, if our policy were persisted in with sufficient constancy, our University would advance apace. Although to-day there is a deplorable backwardness on the part of men of wealth and position to spend money on educational endowments on any large scale; though the readiness of the well-to-do to accept gratuitous, or partly gratuitous, education at the public expense, and their unreadiness to open their purses to contribute to educational ends themselves, is at present a byword and a scandal, I am fain to believe that, with proper example and direction, a very different spirit might in time be created in this land. We might look forward confidently to the time, not within the next ten years, certainly, but perhaps within the next hundred, when as splendid examples of individual munificence in the endowment of schools and colleges, of professorships, scholarships and prizes, should be found in India, as either now or formerly, in any part of Europe or America.

These things are largely a matter of a particular era and even of temporary fashion. Some beginning has already been made in India, and, when the appropriate environment has been created, there will one day come a golden age of the foundation of schools and colleges. As regards our Imperial University, first one and then another College would be founded and endowed either for the benefit of some particular community, as once in Oxford and Cambridge, or out of general zeal for education. Enthusiasts would arise to encourage particular branches of research, especially Oriental languages and archæology, by the endowment of professorships, the institution of prizes, fellowships and other such things. If this be doubted, I can only express my conviction that the affirmative is at least as probable as the negative, and *it is our duty to hope*. When men stand fast to their principles and persevere in honest courses, the tide turns just when the outlook seems most depressing and achievement most disappointing. There is no reason why it should not be so in India. Each decade will make a difference, and the forces at work gather strength in an accelerated ratio. In the end there would be good hopes of accomplishing a *true Renaissance* in India, which would be as astonishing to us of the present day, as the results already achieved would surely have been to the founders of English education sixty years ago.

But there would be other influences at work in our University, tending to bring about these results and other results yet more admirable than these. Our teaching staff would be sufficiently numerous to form a small English society into which our students would not only be encouraged to enter, but in which it would be a tradition to promote good feeling and sympathy with the

alumni of the College in all kindly ways, as one of those duties which no man can claim to impose upon another, but which it is permissible for any who sees fit to take upon themselves. These young men would thus gain an insight into the best side of English home life, without crossing the seas, and learn, perhaps, to appreciate the nobler types of English womanhood—a lesson fraught with a greater number of desirable consequences than it is here convenient to set down. Even short of this more difficult intimacy, there would be fostered by our professors and tutors a real University life, which it would be the first aim of all concerned in the regulation of College and University to raise to a high level. For the length of the University term the tutor would live for the College and for nothing else. The University being an institution complete in itself, and to a great extent cut off from the rest of the world by its situation, he would be distracted by no rival claims; and, the University terms occupying but a part of the year, he would devote himself body and soul to its life without much danger of undue warping and narrowing. The year's work over, he would be free to go his way and refresh his mind by change of scene, and converse with other classes of men. This whole-hearted devotion of the tutorial staff to their work, would do more than anything else to promote healthy social life at the University, and be the most potent influence in bringing about the results hoped for.

More than that; out of this common life and through the fair bonds of union forged between teacher and scholar, which should be not less real, if somewhat more modern in garb, than the ties that bound the disciple to his guru in ancient India, there should come about by degrees a softening of the differences which alienate Englishmen and natives of this country, and foster, instead, a real communion of sympathy and culture among men of broad minds and sound hearts, irrespective of race. Hereby would be laid the foundation of that future Imperial nationality, which is far off, indeed, yet for India the fairest of dreams. If such a dream should ever find a partial realisation, then, in the unanimity, the loyalty, the public spirit, the fair-mindedness and large-heartedness of this new class, neither Hindu, nor Mahomedan, nor Parsee, nor English, but drawing to itself the better spirits of these and every other race or community in India—in their fair service to the State and their steadying and moderating influence on public opinion, the thankless labour of to-day would be compensated and the costly outlay of to-day be justified. Educationists in India must not build for to-day, but for the future, and to the future must they look for their justification.

To sum up : the results hoped for from the foundation of our Imperial College are : firstly, the education of a body of efficient public servants ; secondly, the expansion of our College into a University, which should fulfil a similar function in India to that of Oxford and Cambridge in the United Kingdom ; thirdly, the ultimate lightening of the burden of public education by private munificence ; and lastly, the gradual formation of ties of intellectual and moral sympathy between the various races of India, and more especially between those races collectively and educated Englishmen. A College so designed and worked is an ideal. The ideal may be, as I have acknowledged, somewhat visionary ; but at all events its aim would be worthy of the greatness of this mighty Imperial system, worthy of English traditions, and of the reason of educated and thinking men.

H. R. J.

ART. XI.—RABBI BEN EZRA.

MY own knowledge of Rabbi Ben Ezra and of his doctrines is entirely derived from what Robert Browning has been pleased to reveal to us. I have looked the name out in Biographical Dictionaries and Encyclopædias, but without success.* There is a Browning Dictionary, indeed; but what true lover of the poet could stoop to using a dictionary as a help to understanding him? Moreover, it is one of the chief charms of much of his writings, that each reader can take his own meaning from them. He is like the wind which he loved so much and of which he has written so well. For to some persons the wind seems to say nothing at all; to others its voice is harsh or uncertain; while to some, who can hear, 'the tumult of its mighty harmonies' speaks in 'a deep autumnal tone, sweet though in sadness.'

Robert Browning is, however, essentially a dramatic poet, and the words which he puts into the mouths of 'Karshish, Cleon, Norbert and the fifty,' are not to be regarded as the views of the poet, but as the sentiments the fifty might have expressed if they had had the poet's gift of expression. So that, if, from my possibly imperfect interpretation of Rabbi Ben Ezra, any imputation should arise as to the soundness of the poet's doctrine, he is no more to be blamed for this than Shakspeare is to be blamed for the gluttony and lewdness of Falstaff, or for the treachery of Iago.

I must confess, however, to some dissatisfaction at the Rabbi Ben Ezra who is mentioned in 'Holy Cross Day.' This poem was written in blame of a certain practice by which the Jews in Rome were driven to Church on what, in England, is called 'Maunday Thursday.' In this it is said that Rabbi Ben Ezra delivered a certain song of death on his deathbed. This song is an invocation to Christ that He should have pity on His people, even if they did mistake who He was when He came:—

"Thou! if Thou wast He, who at mid-watch came

• By the starlight, naming a dubious name!

* Our contributor is not, perhaps, altogether serious. But, if he is, his want of success in his quest is probably due to the variety of forms assumed by the name of the famous scholar of Toledo. It is hardly open to doubt that Browning's Ben Ezra is Ibn Ezra (Abraham Ben Meir), the father of Biblical criticism, one of the most learned men of the Middle Ages, who, besides a treatise on Hebrew Grammar, a Commentary on the Bible, and a work on Hebrew philosophy, wrote a large number of Hebrew poems, many of which are still used in Jewish Synagogues.—Ed. "C. R."

And if, too heavy with sleep, e-too /ash
 With fear—O Thou, if that martyr-gash
 Fell on Thee, coming to take thine own,
 And we gave the Cross when we owed the Throne."

This song is conceived in a very different spirit from the poem called 'Rabbi Ben Ezra,' which gives the more robust teaching of the Rabbi, if, indeed, it is the same Rabbi. Here, as teacher, he appears to be addressing a younger man, a pupil perhaps: Oh fortunate pupil!

"Grow old along with me!
 The best is yet to be,
 The last of life for which the first was made:
 Our times are in his hand
 Who saith: 'A whole I planned,
 Youth shows but half; trust God: see all, nor be afraid!'
 Not that, amassing flowers,
 Youth said which rose make ours;
 Which lily leave, and then as best recall?
 Not that, admiring stars,
 It yearned "nor Jove nor Mars;
 Mine be some figured flame which blends, transcends them all!"—

Not for these does he remonstrate, and this means that, though age is better than youth, yet youth is more energetic because of its ambitions. It can see its way to picking and choosing like the maids of Lez. The lily and the rose are ready now to be plucked, or ready to wait till our young man returns for them. The stars will change their colours at his bidding. Jupiter will signal to him, as well as Mars, who signals to every one in the dull season. But all the progress of the world is dependent on ambition of this sort, and so Rabbi Ben Ezra does not remonstrate against it, but 'prizes the doubt low kinds exist without.' He then says that it would be a poor thing if there were 'nought better than to enjoy,' and that we should rejoice, because 'it is more blessed to give than to receive,' and should welcome 'each rebuff that turns earth's smoothness rough.'

And so we come to what is the key of the poem:—

"For thence a paradox,
 Which comforts while it mocks,
 Still life succeeds in that it seems to fail.
 That which I could not be,
 And was not, comforts me."

The meaning of these lines becomes clearer later on. Our aspirations are the higher part of us. What we do, is of use in the world and is valued by the world. But what we desire to do and cannot do, is the part of God. So that 'what is a failure here, is but a triumph's evidence, for the fulness of the days,' or, in the words which immediately precede these in 'Abt Vogler :—

"The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard,
The passion that left the earth to lose itself in the sky,
Are music sent up to God by the lover and the bard,
Enough that he heard it once; we shall hear it bye and-bye."

And so the argument goes on that, had it not been for these aspirations, we might have been no better than the beasts that perish? For how can he be distinguished from a beast 'whose spirit works, lest arms and legs want play?' But no sooner have we arrived at this conclusion, than we are carried forward to another and a different one. Why is this flesh given to us? It also is the gift of God. Therefore, it is, no doubt, intended to help the soul, and we should trust that this is so, and say—

"All good things '
Are ours, nor soul helps flesh more now, than flesh helps soul." "

This principle having been established, the Rabbi considers that he has left the brute stage behind, and, being approved as a man, he has become 'a god though in the germ.' Having arrived at this stage, he thinks it best to germinate. He knows now 'what weapons to select, what armour to endue!' He knows, too, that 'young, all lay in dispute, he shall know being old.'

Then he compares the change from youth to age, which is so gradual and yet so sudden, to the approach of evening :—

"For note when evening shuts,
A certain moment cuts
The deed off, calls the glory from the grey;
A whisper from the west
Shoots 'add this to the rest,
Take it and try its worth ere dies another day.' "

We cannot tell, while we are looking at a sunset, the moment when the glory has faded out of the grey sky, but we are aware some time that it was and is not. Even so we cannot tell to a year, or a day, the exact time when the enthusiasm and the hopefulness, and the confidence of youth have died out of our

lives, but the time comes when we admit that they were and are not :—

- “What, though the radiance which was once so bright,
Be now for ever taken from our sight,
Though nothing can bring back the hour
Of splendour in the grass, of glory in the flower ;
We will grieve not, rather find strength in what remains behind,
In the primal sympathy which having been; must ever be,
In the faith, which looks through death,
In years that bring the philosophic mind.”

In ‘James Lee’s Wife’ there is a contrast of the same sort, and, curiously enough, the poet there uses the change, equally sudden, though perhaps less often seen, from dusk to dawn, to illustrate the change from the self-confidence of youth to the God-confidence of age. James Lee’s wife has been saying of the young man :—

- “Oh ! he knows what defeat means and the rest,
Himself, the undefeated that shall be,
Failure, disgrace, he flings them you to test,
His triumph in eternity
Too plainly manifest.”

And so how can he know what the wind means by it moaning in the quiet, prompt, instinctive way of youth ? But kind, calm years, exacting their accout of pain, mature the mind :—

- “And, some midsummer morning, at the lull
Just about daybreak, as he looks across
A sparkling foreign country, wonderful
To the sea’s edge, for gloom and gloss,
Next minute must, annul,
Then, when the wind begins among the vines,
So low ! so low ! what should it say but this :
• Here is the change beginning ; here the lines
Circumscribe beauty, set to bliss.
The limit time assigns ? ”

When this period, whether it be regarded, as the poet may have regarded it, as the end of the beginning, or the beginning of the end of our lives, comes, we are in a position to judge of the past. Perhaps we have been angry, and have regretted being angry, and found that after all we ‘did well to be angry ;’ or, perhaps, we gave way in some matter when we should have borne testimony.

Then follows what is perhaps the most difficult stanza in the poem :—

“ For more is not reserved
 To man with soul just nerved
 To act to-morrow what he learns to-day :
 Here, work enough to watch
 The master work and catch
 Hints of the proper craft, tricks of the tool's true play.”

But this seems to mean that we cannot expect to decide with so much confidence after we have become old. Our action to-morrow, or in another state, depends on what we learn here. We must learn now and use our learning hereafter. It has been seen to be “ better for youth to strive through acts unthought towards making, than to repose on aught found made.” So is it better for age to collect its knowledge rather than to seek to know more. It is enough for age to be satisfied about what is “ the right and good and infinite,” which, indeed, ought to be enough for any one.

But is it enough ? How many people are agreed as to what is the right and good and infinite ? Who is to decide ? Ten men love what the poet hates, shun what he follows, slight what he receives. How is the controversy to be decided ?

And having reached this point, it is decided not by reason but by imagination :—

“ But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,
 Existent behind all laws, that made them, and lo ! they are,”

The answers to the questions are stated, not by the other ten, but by the poet :—

“ Not on the vulgar mass
 Called ‘ work ’ must sentence pass,
 Things done, that took the eye and had the price ;
 O’er which from level stand,
 The low world laid its hand,
 Found straightway to its mind could value in a trice.
 ‘ All instincts immature,
 All purposes unsure,
 That weighed not as his work, yet swelled the man’s amount.’
 ‘ All I could never be,
 All men ignored in me,
 That I was worth to God whose wheel the pitcher shaped.”

Here is the development of the idea that what we do is for the world, and what we fail to do is for God.

The rest of the poem merely continues the idea of the potter's wheel. Each of us is, as it were, a vessel formed by the potter and placed on the wheel—some vessels to honour and some to dishonour. We are whirled round and round 'in this dance of plastic circumstance!' But, even so, we are to perform our duty in such place :—

"What though the earlier grooves
Which ran the laughing loves.

Around the base, no longer pause and press?

What though, about thy rim,
Scully-things in order grim

Grow out in graver mood, obey the sterner stress?"

We are not to consider what is happening to ourselves, we are to feel that we are created to carry out God's purposes and to await his will. We are to look, not 'down', but up to uses of a cup, the festal board, lamp's flash and trumpet's peal.' And to consider ourselves as a 'void capacity' for the will of God.

And so the poem ends with the words—

"Let age approve of youth, and death complete the same."

The most important problem which has to be considered in life is the origin of evil. With this subject Robert Browning does not here directly deal. He ignores it. The pupil is not supposed to have any aspirations which are not good. But, whatever our aspirations and efforts may be, we cannot always hope to succeed in them, and Rabbi Ben Ezra seems to have been trying to support his pupil against the failure which must some time overcome him. Did he succeed or not? Who knows? I only know that in many failures the teaching of this poem has never failed to help and strengthen me, and I have written this in the hope that others too may find—

Sweet solace there as we have found."

H. F. T. MAGUIRE.

THE QUARTER.

PARLIAMENT re-assembled on the 5th February, and the Session can scarcely be said to have opened very brilliantly for the Government.

The Queen's speech, which was read by Commission, states that relations with Foreign Powers are friendly, and refers with satisfaction to the agreement concluded with France for the settlement of the frontier of Sierra Leone. After expressing regret at the war between China and Japan, the speech goes on to say that the Government have maintained a close and cordial *entente* with the other European Powers interested in those regions, and will lose no favourable opportunity of promoting a peaceful termination of the conflict. As regards the troubles in Armenia, the speech says that, owing to the reports received of excesses committed by Turkish troops in Armenia, it has been thought right, conjointly with the other Powers, to make representations to the Sultan, who has declared that the guilty will be severely punished, and has sent a Commission of enquiry into the district to report on the truth of the allegations that have been made.

The measures announced for the Session are the Irish Land Bill, the Evicted Tenants Bill, the Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which Lord Rosebery had recently declared would be the first Bill of the Session, a Local Veto Bill, a Bill for the abolition of Plural Voting, a Bill for Payment of the Charges of Returning Officers, and Bills for the Conciliation of Labour Disputes, the Amendment of the Factory Acts, the Completion of Scotch County Government, besides further legislation on the Crofter question.

For a Government with a bare working majority, and that rapidly diminishing, the magnitude of the programme is startling. Indeed, it may be doubted whether any Government ever announced such a programme before under equally unfavorable circumstances. Nevertheless it omits some important items which, up to a few days previously, had been treated as essential; and it is not surprising that the absence of all reference to Home Rule, or the question of the House of Lords, was at once fastened on by the Opposition. Hardly less noteworthy, though of less political interest,—as politics are now a-days understood in England—was the silence of the speech regarding the progress towards a settlement of the Pamir question with Russia over which Ministers were lately so jubilant.

The reply in the House of Lords was voted the same day, Lord Rosebery, in the course of the debate, declaring his conviction that the Porte was sincerely desirous of ascertaining the truth regarding the state of affairs in Armenia, but, at the same time, stating that if matters were as had been alleged, the state of the Christian population of the country could not continue.

In the House of Commons, the debate on the reply, which was moved by Sir W. Harcourt, was prolonged for a whole fortnight, and then closed. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, after referring to the death of the late Emperor Alexander of Russia as a calamity for the cause of peace, which, though qualified, was a somewhat *maladroit* utterance, repudiated all intention on the part of Government to back out of any portion of their naval programme. As regards Home Rule, he denied that it had been shelved, and stated that it was still the main object of the Liberal Party. Mr. Balfour, in reply, criticised the absence of any reference to the Navy from the speech, characterised the Government programme as the obvious farce it is, and accused Lord Rosebery of declining to introduce his Resolution dealing with the House of Lords at the beginning of the Session, because he was afraid to face the dissolution that must inevitably follow such a step.

Amendments were moved by Mr. Jeffreys, the Member for Basingstoke, regretting that, in view of the disastrous condition of agriculture and the depression in the textile and other industries, Ministers did not appreciate the gravity of the situation; by Mr. Redmond, praying that Parliament be dissolved for the purpose of submitting Home Rule to the decision of the country; by Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, in favour of Great Britain bearing a fair proportion of the cost of the employment of Europeans in India, and of military and political operations where Imperial interests were concerned; by Mr. Clancy, for an amnesty for the Irish dynamiters, and by Mr. Chamberlain, demanding the immediate submission of the Government Resolution, dealing with the House of Lords. Mr. Jeffreys's amendment was rejected by a majority of 12 only, and Mr. Redmond's by a majority of 20. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's amendment was withdrawn on the Secretary of State admitting that serious difficulties existed between the exchequers of the two countries, regarding the proportion of the expenditure to be borne by each, and stating that the Government were desirous of a full and complete enquiry, which, he thought, would be best conducted by a small Royal Commission; Mr. Clancy's amendment was rejected by a majority of 300 to 111, and Mr. Chamberlain's by a

majority of 296 to 282, after which the Closure was moved, not altogether unreasonably, and carried by a majority of 8, and the Reply was then voted.

In the course of the debate on Mr. Chamberlain's amendment, Mr. Asquith declared that Home Rule was not at present a vital question.

A vigorous agitation has been started in Lancashire against the cotton duties, and public meetings have been held in London and various places in Lancashire, at which highly exaggerated statements have been freely made and strongly worded resolutions passed. An important debate on the question took place in the House of Commons on the 21st February, when Sir Henry James moved the adjournment of the House to consider the recent fiscal measures, and enquire into the effect of the duties on the Lancashire cotton trade. Mr. Fowler, in reply, warmly defended the action of the Government of India, and repudiated the accusation that they had sacrificed the interests of England by 'the re-imposition' of the duties. In conclusion, he stated that he did not shrink from censure, but reminded the House that it would be answerable to the people of India for any adverse decision at which it might arrive. Mr. Goschen spoke against the motion, which was rejected by 304 to 109, the Opposition supporting the Government. Several Radicals, together with Mr. Chaplin and Lord George Hamilton voted with the minority, and Mr. Chamberlain abstained from voting.

The recent speech of Lord Elgin, regarding the conditions of Indian legislation, to which we have referred at length further on, was the subject of a question put by Mr. Henniker Heaton in the House of Commons, on the 19th ultimo, when Mr. Fowler said, in reply, that he was prepared to maintain the course taken by Lord Elgin's Government, which was strictly in accordance with the Acts of Parliament. At the same time, he promised to lay on the table of the House despatches of the Duke of Argyle and Lord Salisbury defining the position of the Secretary of State towards the Government of India.

In the House of Commons, on the 7th February, Sir. W. Harcourt announced the intention of the Government to appoint a Select Committee to consider the distress arising from want of employment in the United Kingdom.

At a dinner given to Lord Sandhurst at the Northbrook Club, on the occasion of his approaching departure for this country, to assume the Governorship of Bombay, Mr. Fowler, in proposing the toast of the evening, spoke confidently of the ability of India to surmount the silver difficulty, and ridiculed the idea of the country being on the verge of bankruptcy.

Extraordinary cold prevailed throughout Great Britain and a great part of the Continent of Europe during the first three weeks of February, the thermometer in many places falling below zero, and the Thames and Scheldt being frozen over.

A renewed severe drain of gold has reduced the reserve of the United States Treasury below fifty million dollars, and a new loan has been issued by the Government, bearing interest at four per cent., payable in either gold or silver, after Congress had rejected a proposal of President Cleveland to issue gold bonds instead of coin bonds as heretofore.

An important debate on the currency question took place on the 16th ultimo, in the German Reichstag, which passed a resolution calling on the Government to convene a fresh international Monetary Conference, and a strong feeling in favour of bi-metallism is said to be springing up in the country.

The agreement between France and England, referred to in the Queen's speech, defines the boundaries of the two Powers in Sierra Leone, and concedes reciprocal trading facilities on the frontier.

The Egyptian Budget shows a surplus for 1894 of £790,000, and an expected surplus for the current year of £660,000.

A serious political crisis has occurred in France, and resulted not only in the fall of the Dupuy Ministry, but in the resignation of the President. The Council of State having decided that certain of the Railways, under a convention entered into with the Government in 1883, were entitled to a permanent guarantee, the Radicals moved a resolution in the Chamber, asserting the right of the State to overrule the decision of that tribunal. The resolution was carried against the Ministry, by a majority of 22. M. Barthou, the Minister for Public Works, having previously resigned, rather than be concerned in carrying out the decision of the Court. Thereupon the Ministry resigned, and immediately afterwards M. Casimir Périer also sent in his formal resignation of the Presidency to the Chambers, on the ground that a campaign of insult was being waged against him. The action of the President, in thus abandoning the helm of State in the midst of a ministerial crisis, out of what looks like either ill-temper, or want of stamina, created a strong feeling of indignation throughout the country; but the world is probably not in a position to pronounce a definitive judgment on his conduct, which on the surface is in striking contrast with his whole previous career.

In the election for the new President the first ballot gave 338 votes to M. Brisson, a leading Radical and President

of the Chamber of Deputies; 244 to M. Felix Faure, the Minister of Marine in M. Dupuy's Cabinet, and 184 to M. Waldeck-Rousseau. Thereupon M. Waldeck-Rousseau retired from the contest, and the second ballot resulted in the election of M. Faure by a majority of 69 over M. Brisson.

M. Faure first sent for M. Bourgeois, who, however, after several days' endeavour, failed to form a Ministry. Thereupon M. Ribot was sent for, and succeeded in arranging a moderate Republican Cabinet, which will have a very difficult task before it.

Lord Harris left Bombay for England, on the expiration of his term of office, on the 16th ultimo, and his successor, Lord Sandhurst, arrived on the 18th idem. A series of entertainments were given in the retiring Governor's honour before he left, culminating in a grand banquet at the Byculla Club, at which he made an interesting speech, vindicating the British Government in India from the charge of being bureaucratic, or wanting in sympathy with the people of the country, and paying a warm tribute to the European services.

The proceedings of the Legislative Council of India have not only been of unusual intrinsic importance, but have acquired an added interest from the discussion to which they have incidentally given rise regarding the relative positions of the Home and Indian Governments in respect of Indian legislation, and the obligations of the official members to support the Government with their votes.

The Secretary of State, having consented to the imposition of a duty on cotton manufactures imported into India, on the condition of an equivalent excise duty being levied on the corresponding Indian manufactures, two Bills were introduced in the Council by Sir James Westland on the 17th December, one to enable the Government to impose a duty of five per cent. on the former, and at the same time to make certain minor amendments in the tariff, and the other to enable the Government to levy an excise duty at the same rate on yarns manufactured in India of a fineness of 20s. and upwards, and to empower it to raise the limit to goods of a fineness of 24s. thereafter, should it appear, on enquiry, that Manchester goods did not contain yarns of coarser counts.

Both Bills were referred to a Select Committee on the following Thursday, and were passed, after a lengthy discussion, and after an amendment, moved by the Hon. Mr Fazulbhai Vishram, to substitute 24s. for 20s. in the Cotton Duties Bill, had been negatived by a majority of 11 to 10.

In the course of the debate on the motion to refer the Cotton Duties Bill to a Select Committee, Sir Griffith Evans, who, on grounds of convenience, abstained from opposing the

motion, maintained that, though the Secretary of State might order the introduction of Bills in the Council by the Executive Government, the Council was admittedly free to reject them wholly or in part. Sir James Westland, after repeating a statement made by him in introducing the Bill, that he declined to discuss it on its merits, and that the decision was that of the Secretary of State, which the Government were bound to obey, went on to object to the terms of a protest against the Bill from the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, implying that undue pressure was being exercised on the Legislature by the Secretary of State. If, he added, he had told the Council that these were the orders of the Secretary of State, and that they were bound to carry them out, the resolution passed by the Chamber of Commerce would have been a just one. As regards the position of this Council he quite agreed with Sir Griffith Evans, except that all the members were not independent. This referred to those who were in Government service. It had been stated that the Secretary of State had looked only to the interests of the British public, but this was not so. All the circumstances connected with this measure had been laid before the Secretary of State, who had held the scales fairly and impartially, and after carefully considering the whole matter, as well as the interests of both the Indian and British public, had arrived at the decision he had come to.

In the debate on the motion that the Report of the Select Committee on the Bill be taken into consideration, Sir James Westland again referred to Sir Griffith Evans' view of the conditions under which the Council exercised its functions. Sir Griffith Evans, he said, had described the power of the Council as free and unfettered, and had called upon members to allow no infringement of that procedure. He could not help thinking that this attribute of a quite unfettered power arose in some measure from the fact that the authority which was the ultimate deciding power in executive matters, was also that which exercised legislative authority. But, as a matter of fact, he did not believe there was any Legislative Chamber in the world that was allowed to exercise its functions without regard to some other authority. The House of Commons, all powerful as it was, had over and over again to frame its legislation with reference to conditions laid down by the other House. So, although the Council might exercise their powers, with reference to the instructions which the Secretary of State had given, he was merely in the position of a Minister, who comes to the House of Commons and, addressing them as practical men, asks them to consider in what way they may best attain the object which the Legislature stands in need of, and also asks

them to subordinate their own views in the matter to the necessities of the case. The House of Commons did that over and over again, and he was not infringing the liberty of the Council in asking it to do that which the House of Commons did without infringement of its liberty or independence. At the close of the debate, the Viceroy made a statement on the same subject, which is of so much importance, that we give the essential parts of it in full:—

"It is alleged," he said, "in certain quarters that, in consenting to introduce this Bill in its present form, the Government has made a cowardly surrender, and has given way to a pressure which, if not unconstitutional, is, at any rate, unusual and oppressive. I wish to take exception to any such statement, and I am prepared to show that the Government of India has maintained, and intends to maintain, firmly and without wavering, a consistent policy in this matter. So far as the individual action of my colleagues and myself is concerned, Sir Henry Brackenbury, in the discussions on the last Tariff Bill and again to-day, has said that we are bound to obey the orders given by the proper and constitutional authority. But, for my part, I do not think that exhausts the question. It is claimed that members must be free to speak and vote in this Council for the measure they honestly think best. I can accept that proposition only with the qualification that they duly recognise the responsibility under which they exercise their rights in this Council. Only in an entirely irresponsible body can members act entirely according as their inclination leads them. In every Legislative body a man must sit, unless he has an hereditary right by what, in modern parlance is called a mandate, and that mandate must be given by some authority. I need not remind you that in a Parliament a man is not free to act exactly as he pleases; he is distinctly subject to the mandate he has received from his constituents; and practice has shown that even this is not sufficient; but that to make Parliamentary Government effective it has been necessary to introduce party management, and the bonds of party, in the present day, certainly show no signs of being relaxed. Here we have no election, and I am glad to say no party, but every man who sits here sits by the authority and sanction of Parliament; and to say that he can refuse to obey the decisions of Parliament would be absurd. But that is not all. Parliament has provided for the Government of the Indian Empire. The British Raj can be provided for in no other way. Parliament has allotted his proper place to the Viceroy, and the head of the Executive in India, and it has given him a Council for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, which cannot have powers in which he does not share. But the Viceroy, admittedly, is not invested with supreme authority. That, as I understand it, is by distinct enactment entrusted to the Secretary of State and his Council; and to speak of his Council as supreme—if that means that it has independent and unfettered authority—is to say what is not the fact. I speak with some deference after what fell from the Hon'ble Sir Graham Evans; but, with all respect for his legal authority, I think that he is not correct in the view he took, that a member of the Council is unfettered in the vote he gives here, or that he could "hand over his responsibility" to the Secretary of State. I am inclined to think that the Hon'ble Mr. Mehta took a more correct view of the matter, when he said, that he would leave the responsibility with the Secretary of State, because the responsibility which the Secretary of State would exercise would be the responsibility which belongs to him. I feel most strongly—as I believe every man who has had even the smallest share in the administration of the affairs of this Empire must feel—the paramount importance of maintaining the credit of the British rule for justice and impartiality, and I have seen, with much regret, some attempts to divert the discussion of this and other matters into an attack on the motives which are supposed to actuate certain decisions. I, for my part, do not envy the responsibility of the man who makes that sort of insinuation. I undertake to say that it is absolutely necessary that the gauging of Parliamentary opinion should be done in England, and cannot be done from here. The Secretary of State interprets to us the will of Parliament, to which he is directly responsible for the proper

performance of his duty; and I protest against the supposition that any man of any party, taking upon himself the great office of Secretary of State for India is so unworthy of the traditions of British statesmen, that he does not do his utmost to bring to the discharge of his responsible duties, a spirit of impartiality and fairness; and if that is so, I also protest against our—I will not say obedience to, but rather acceptance of, his decisions being anything less than ungrudging."

Then, after giving an account of the history of the measure before the Council, and the considerations by which the Secretary of State had been guided in his decision, he concluded with the following words:—

- "Now, I cannot conceive a greater calamity than this Council voting against this Bill, or adopting an amendment which would be fatal to it. Far be it from me to deny that it is within the competence of the Council to throw up any measure. It would be its duty so to act if the public weal were endangered. But, as I have endeavoured to point out, the vote of this Council, and as I maintain of every individual member of it, is given under the responsibility of doing nothing to dislocate the complicated machinery by which this great Empire is governed; and I agree with the Hon. Sir Henry Buckenbury that, if this Council does adopt this amendment, it will take upon its shoulders the responsibility of losing this Bill, and of losing, perhaps altogether, the financial resources which we so much need. So far as the Government of India is concerned, it has, in this case, and will, in any other case, fully and fairly consider, and forward for consideration, the views which prevail in India, which it is their duty to make themselves acquainted with; but the Government of India do not now, and I am sure will never, shrink from putting before this Council proposals on which, after due conference, a decision has been arrived at in the proper and constitutional form, and from asking the Council, as we do now, to pass the necessary legislation."
- We do not propose to discuss here the question how far this statement embodies a new view either of the relations of Parliament, or the Secretary of State, to the Government of India, as regards Legislation, or of the conditions under which members of the Legislature vote, or how far the view it embodies is constitutional or unconstitutional, for it is so extremely vague and contradictory, that it is impossible to put any definite interpretation on it.

The fact is the elements of conflict are inherent in the arrangements under which India is governed. The statutes are perfectly clear both in what they express and in what they imply. They confer on the Secretary of State no power of initiative in Indian legislation, and they confer no power to command the votes of members of the Legislature on either the Secretary of State or the Government of India. But they are necessarily silent as to the considerations by which the Government of India shall be guided in making motions in the Legislature, or by which the members, official or other, shall be aided in voting on motions. At the same time, the relations of the Secretary of State to the Government of India, on the one hand, and of the Government of India to the official members of Council, on the other, are such as to place it in the power of the one to control the initiative in legislation, and

of the other to control the votes of the official members, to an extent which, in the last resort, is practically unlimited. In both cases a proper use may be made of the power, and an improper use may be made of it. What is a proper and what an improper use is necessarily a question of degree. The whole tenor of the statutes, as well as the provisions which they make for safeguarding the authority of the Crown, on the one hand, by vesting an unconditional power of veto in the Secretary of State, and, on the other, by enabling the Viceroy to pass ordinances without the consent of the Council, clearly indicates it to have been the intention of Parliament that the initiative should ordinarily rest with the Local Government, and that the members of the Council should enjoy a large measure of freedom; and this is the view which is sanctioned by common sense and by the practice of the past. On the other hand, it is unquestionable that cases may arise in which it is necessary, in the interests of good government, that the Secretary of State should assume the initiative, or restrain the Local Government from introducing measures which he is not prepared to sanction. But the power should be sparingly exercised, if the spirit of the constitution is not to be violated. The error committed by Lord Elgin, in the speech just referred to, seems to be in his treating as a normal and constant condition, what should be only an occasional and exceptional incident of Indian legislation.

In view of the economic crisis which is impending in England, and the certainty of extreme pressure being brought to bear on the Home Government by the British manufacturing interest to get it to control Indian legislation for its advantage, it is of vital importance to the people of India that the Local Government and public should make a firm stand against the growing tendency of the Secretary of State to treat the Viceroy and his Council as mere puppets, and the Legislative Council as a registering machine.

It seemed not improbable at one time that the question of the obligation of the official members to support measures introduced in the Council under instructions from the Secretary of State, would be put to the test in connexion with the Cantonment Act Amendment Bill, which was introduced at Simla last autumn, and was passed by the Council in a modified form.

As originally framed, the Bill, which was practically drafted in England on lines recommended by the majority of a committee appointed by the India Office, contained three sections, of which the first was merely formal, the second made it illegal for the Government to make rules for the regulation of a certain class of women in Cantonments, and the third made any servant of the Government, or other person, who subjected

any such woman to compulsory examination liable to a fine of a hundred rupees. The proposal contained in the third section excited widespread indignation, as not only derogatory to the Government itself, but casting an unmerited slur on its medical officers, and was, it is believed, strongly opposed in the Executive Council. The belief is that, had the Bill been persevered within its original form, more than one of the official members would have voted against it, with the result that, in all probability, it would have been rejected. Owing, however, to strong representations made to him by the Government of India, the Secretary of State ultimately consented to the withdrawal of the obnoxious section; and, the sting having been thus taken out of the Bill, it was passed without a division, though generally considered superfluous, the Commander-in-Chief taking the opportunity of the occasion to repudiate the policy of the Resolution of the House of Commons which it was intended to enforce, and to show by statistics the disastrous effect on the health of the British Army produced by the removal of the restrictions imposed under the Contagious Diseases Act.

On the 14th ultimo the report of the Select Committee on the long pending Deccan Ryots Act Amendment Bill was taken into consideration, and the Bill passed; and Sir Charles Elliott, after speaking in terms of high appreciation of the measure, expressed a hope that the Government of India would see their way to extending its principle to other parts of the country, including Bengal, where he was convinced its operation would be attended by most beneficial results.

On the same day the Report of the Select Committee on Sir Antony MacDonnell's Bill to amend the Police Act V. of 1861 was presented. The Committee have made some important amendments in the 4th and 5th sections of the Bill, but they are far from completely meeting the very strong objections entertained among all sections of the community to the powers of exemption which they confer on the Magistrate. It is, indeed, explained by the Committee that the power to exempt "persons," as distinguished from "classes," has been inserted to enable Magistrates to exempt individual holders of property in the proclaimed area, and this is satisfactory as far as it goes. But the power to exempt classes, which is, politically at least, more dangerous, is left untouched.

The long and important Bill to amend the Merchant Shipping Act, which was introduced into the Council in October 1892, was referred to a Select Committee on the 31st January, when a proposed new section, which would have placed lascars on the same footing as European seamen, as regards the space to be allotted to them on ship-board, was severely criticised by the Hon'ble Mr. Playfair, and hope was held out on behalf of the Government that the section would not be pressed. . . .

Among measures of importance which have been under the consideration of the Bengal Council, are a Bill to amend the Calcutta and Suburban Police Act, so as to enable the police to arrest without warrant in certain cases for improper solicitation, which was introduced on the 19th January, and referred to a Select Committee on the 16th February; a Bill to provide for the segregation of pauper lepers in Municipal areas in, or in the neighbourhood of, which a Leper Asylum exists, and to prevent lepers in any Municipality from engaging in certain trades, which was introduced on the 16th February, and a Bill to provide for the maintenance of the Record of Rights in Bengal, and for the recovery of the cost of Cadastral Surveys and Settlements, which was introduced on the 19th January.

Among noteworthy events of the period under review is the meeting of the first Indian Medical Congress, which began its sittings on the 24th December, under the Presidency of Dr. R. Harvey. The Conference was largely attended by medical men from all parts of India, as well as by a sprinkling of representatives of other countries, and many papers of interest, though none that contained anything very new or striking, were read. Perhaps the most remarkable incident of the gathering was the indignant protest passed unanimously at its close against the third section of the Cantonment Act Amendment Bill already referred to.

The Waziris having failed to comply with the demands of the Government of India, the expeditionary force advanced into the country in the middle of December, and have scoured it pretty thoroughly, occupying temporarily the principal villages, destroying towers and fortifications in all directions, and capturing considerable quantities of cattle. Though the troops have been frequently fired upon by small parties of the enemy, no organised resistance has been encountered, and there seems to be every probability that the amended terms that have been offered them will be fully complied with. In the meantime the delimitation is proceeding apace, and it is understood that a permanent Cantonment will be established at Wana or in the Tochi valley. A great Jirgah was held at Bannu last month, at which most of the Chiefs attended and made their submission.

A revolution has occurred in Chitral, where the late Mehtar has been murdered and the Gaddi seized by his brother, Amir-ul-Mulk; and, to complicate matters still further, the notorious Umra Khan of Jandola, has since invaded the State, and obtained possession of Kila Drosh. No fears are at present entertained for the safety of Lieutenant Gordon, who is in Chitral with a small escort, and Dr. Robertson is believed to be hastening to his assistance with reinforcements.

The improvement in the Amir's health continues, but nothing

fresh has transpired in connexion with the question of his visit to England. Sir Salter Pyne has again arrived in India from Kabul for the purpose, it is understood, of making fresh purchases of machinery for His Majesty.

The Japanese have followed up their success at Port Arthur by a still more brilliant achievement at Wei-hai Wei, resulting in the capture of that place and the destruction or surrender of the entire Chinese fleet, which is said to have consisted of twenty-five vessels, including several iron-clads. The land force engaged in the undertaking appear to have landed at Tungching and Ninghai, and invested the place in the middle of January. Towards the end of the month some of the forts on the land side were carried by assault; but the Chinese fleet and the island of Liukungtao held out about a fortnight longer. On the 5th and 6th February the Japanese made night attacks on the enemy's fleet, in the course of which they succeeded in sinking four of their largest vessels with their torpedoes, and also in destroying the greater portion of the Chinese torpedo-boats. The subsequent course of events is obscure, but it seems certain that, about a week later, the remainder of the fleet and the island of Liukungtao surrendered, and the whole place is in undisputed possession of the Japanese.

In the north, the Japanese occupied Fuchow without opposition, early in December. In the middle of the same month, they captured Haiching, after defeating a Chinese army, said to have been 10,000 strong, in a severe engagement; and on the 9th February they occupied Hai-phing. It is also reported that they have bombarded the Treaty Port of Chefoo.

A further attempt has been made by the Chinese to open negotiations for peace; but the Japanese again refused to recognise the delegates sent from Peking to the Court of the Mikado for the purpose, and it is now stated that Li Hung Chang, whose honours have all been restored to him, is to be despatched to Japan with full powers to effect a settlement.

A partial revulsion of popular feeling in England against the Japanese has been caused by a series of atrocities which are ascertained to have been perpetrated by their troops on defenceless Chinese, on the occasion of the capture of Port Arthur; but there seems to be no doubt that they acted under severe provocation.

The obituary of the quarter includes the names of Lord Randolph Churchill, Marshall Canrobert, Marshall Pavia, Mr. Robert Louis Stevenson, Professor Seeley, Miss Christina Rossetti, Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, Mr. Thomas Gordon Hake, Sir James Thomson, M. de Giers, Mr. Edward Solomon, the Revd. James Atlay, Bishop of Hereford, General Barwell, Lieut.-Col. R. C. Sterndale, and the Maharaja of Mysore.

March 1, 1895.

SUMMARY OF ANNUAL REPORTS.

Report of the Administration of the Madras Presidency during the year 1893-94.

LORD WENLOCK is understood to pride himself on his active habits. The story of his governorship, during the year of report, appropriately commences with mention of three long tours, undertaken by him in the course of 1893-94, in the course of which twenty-four addresses were presented, dealing with railway extension, drainage, and water-supply of the chief towns, revenue settlements, the operation of the Arms Act, educational matters, and the formation of a Native Volunteer Corps. It would appear, therefore, that the popular mind was not wholly occupied with the aims of the approaching National Congress, but had room to spare for practical matters. It may be that Lord Wenlock's vigorous activities have re-acted on the people he has ruled over for the last three years; some good influence has indubitably infected them with an itch for progress; the epithet, "benighted," can no longer with justice be attached to, at any rate, the people of the Southern Presidency.

In that connection it is noteworthy to what a large extent the Native States have assimilated English ideas of progress and liberal-mindedness. The strides taken in railway development throughout the Presidency afford practical proof of the Government's desire to be progressive. The public health was good. Climatically considered the year was a favourable one for agriculturists, except in Nellore, the adjoining taluks of Kurnul and the sub-division of Cuddapah. In most districts the rainfall was fairly distributed in both monsoons, and though there were floods and breaches in irrigation works in many places, no great damage was caused except in Nellore. The people had everywhere enough to eat, and the average wages of skilled and unskilled labour remained much the same as they had been in the previous year. The total loss of cattle from disease was 25·7 per cent. less than the average of the past five years, and the Superintendent of the Civil Veterinary Department was able to devote his time to teaching veterinary science at the College of Agriculture. Fony-breeding operations continued to work satisfactorily.

Trade flourished. The total value of the sea-borne trade of the Presidency, excluding treasure and transactions on account of Government, amounted to 29 crores and 29 lakhs, against 28

crores and 45 lakhs, in the preceding year. The increase of 84 lakhs is made up of $27\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs under exports and $56\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs under imports.

The total value of the external trade, *i.e.*, trade with foreign countries, with Indian ports not British, and with British ports in other Presidencies, amounted to 25 crores and $35\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs or 1 crore and $68\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs more than in 1892-93. Exports contributed 12 crores and $77\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs or 58.28 per cent. of the total value of this trade, and imports 10 crores and 58 lakhs or 41.72 per cent. Compared with 1892-93, the exports increased by $71\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or 5.09 per cent. and the imports by 97 lakhs or 10.06 per cent. The increase under exports was chiefly in the trade with the United Kingdom and Bengal; and that under imports was chiefly in the trade with the United Kingdom and Burma. The exports of Indian produce and manufactures increased by $70\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs or 5.06 per cent. and those of foreign merchandise by 1 lakh or 7.42 per cent. The more important Indian articles of export, the annual value of which exceeded 50 lakhs, were hides and skins, coffee, raw cotton, indigo, seeds, sugar, grain and pulse, spices, cotton, piece goods and oils, which together contributed 80 per cent. of the total exports of Indian produce. There were increases under sugar (27 lakhs), seeds (22 lakhs), hides and skins (19 lakhs), grain and pulse (12 lakhs), raw cotton (10 lakhs), cotton piece-goods (5 lakhs), spices (5 lakhs), and tea (3 lakhs); and decreases under indigo (12 lakhs), coffee (8 lakhs), coir, yarn and rope (5 lakhs), and tobacco (2 lakhs).

Compared with 1892-93, the imports of Indian produce increased by 13 lakhs, or 4.25 per cent. and those of foreign merchandise by 84 lakhs, or 12.70 per cent. The largest items of import were cotton piece-goods, grain and pulse, cotton twist and yarn and metals. Cotton piece-goods amounted to 2 crores and $40\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs (92.77 per cent. of the total imports), grain and pulse to 1 crore and 53 lakhs (14.46 per cent.), twist and yarn to 1 crore and 39 lakhs (13.14 per cent.) and metals to $70\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs (6.70 per cent.)

The total value of the trade with foreign countries amounted to 17 crores and $71\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs, or 1 crore and 34 lakhs (8.20 per cent.) more than in 1892-93. The total expenditure in the Irrigation Branch of the Public Works Department was Rs. 61,46,356 or Rs. 5,83,743 less than in 1892-93. The total length of railways under the control of the Madras Government at the close of the official year was—broad gauge $860\frac{1}{2}$ miles open and $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles under construction. Metre gauge 1,042 miles open and $70\frac{1}{2}$ miles under construction.

The East Coast Railway, both open and under construction, was transferred to the control of the Director-General of

Railways in June 1893. A section of the line from Rajahmundry to Vizianagram, including the Cotanada and Vizagapatam branches, $174\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length, was opened for traffic in August. The open section of the metre-gauge railway, from Bangalore to Guntakal was transferred to the Southern Mahratta Railway in April. The lines under construction, during the year, were the East Coast, standard gauge 250 miles, Vizianagram to Cuttack; the Máyavaram-Muttupet, metre-gauge 54 miles, and the Kolár Gold Fields branch from Bowringpet on the Madras Railway, standard gauge $10\frac{1}{2}$ miles; the two latter were practically ready at the close of the official year. The Nilgiri Railway, $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles metre-gauge, was in partial progress throughout the year. The lines under survey were—Bezwada-Madras, 291 miles standard gauge, which included the Madras-Ennor section of 10 miles, the project for which was submitted during the year, and the extension of the Nilgiri Railway from Coonoor to Ootacamund. Projects were brought forward during the year for railways between the following places:—Calicut-Cannanore, Shoranúr-Cochin, Bezwada Masulipatam, Madura-Pámban and Colombo, Peralam-Kárikál, Mangalore-Arsikere and Tinnevely-Quilon, but no surveys were made. All the lines yielded a fair interest on capital outlay, 106 miles of telegraph lines were during the year added to the 6,608 previously worked.

"As to Finance, we are told that the receipts from Land Revenue rose from 505 lakhs in 1892-93 to $543\frac{1}{2}$ lakhs in 1893-94, due chiefly to an increase in the demand consequent on a very favourable season, and to the withdrawal by credit to Imperial revenues under this head of the usual Government contribution to Village Service funds rendered necessary in consequence of certain administrative changes adopted with a view to exhaust the balances of those funds. The charges also rose from $50\frac{3}{4}$ lakhs to nearly 51½ lakhs, owing to a large excess under Survey and Settlement, partly counterbalanced by short expenditure under charges of district administration.

Land and Village Service cesses were, for the first time, ordered to be levied on salt pans, both in excise and Government factories. The quantity of salt manufactured and received into store fell from a little less than 9¼ million maunds in 1892-93 to a little over 7¼ million maunds. The issues stood at nearly 8¼ million maunds, or a little less than in the previous year. The revenue from salt fell from a little over 17½ lakhs in 1892-93 to 63 lakhs in the year under review, owing chiefly to an increase, of sales under the credit system and a diminution of cash sales, as regards Madras salt, while the failure of local manufacture and the temporary suspension of sales of some stocks of excise salt occasioned the decrease in Orissa salt receipts. The charges were 19¼ lakhs against a little over 19 lakhs in the year before.

The Stamp revenue and expenditure of the year under review amounted to a little over 74¼ and 3¼ lakhs, respectively, and exceeded the actuals of 1892-93, the highest figure previously reached, by a little over a half, and a quarter lakh respectively. The increase in revenue was due to the introduction of stamped copy papers into every Revenue office in the mofussal and to the increase in litigation, which was, no doubt, partly due to the opening of additional civil courts. The increase in charges represents the cost of the additional stamped paper required for issue from the central stores.

The receipts from Excise and Abkárí amounted to nearly 125¼ lakhs, or a little over 8 lakhs more than in 1892-93, an improvement which is attributed

chiefly to the favourable season and to administrative improvements. The charges also rose from 5½ lakhs in 1892-93 to 6 lakhs, owing mainly to the further expansion of departmental operations.

Opium receipts rose from 4 lakhs in 1892-93 to 4½ lakhs in the year under review.

Sea customs contributed a little over 16½ lakhs to the revenue, against 16 lakhs in the previous year. The increase was entirely due to the favourable season which stimulated export trade, especially that in rice. The charges were a little over 1½ lakhs, as in the previous year. Land customs receipts rose from ¾ lakh to a little over it in the year under review. The charges were, as usual, inconsiderable in amount.

Income-tax receipts rose from 18½ lakhs in 1892-93 to a little over 20½ lakhs in 1893-94, owing chiefly to a closer supervision of the work of assessing officers. The charges were, as in the previous year, less than a quarter of a lakh.

The net result of the transactions of the Forest Department showed a surplus of 6½ lakhs against only 2½ lakhs in 1892-93. The large increase was due partly to the re-action from effects of the scarcity which prevailed in the previous year and partly to large supplies of sal sleepers to the East Coast Railway and increased receipts from grazing and fodder grass and other minor produce.

Registration receipts fell off by a lakh and a quarter, postal department receipts rose by half a lakh, agricultural loans outstanding on the 31st March 1894, amounted to 73½ lakhs against 69½ lakhs on the corresponding date in the previous year. The circulation of currency notes of the Madras and Calicut circles, excluding those held in the Branch Reserve Treasury was 275 lakhs at the beginning of the year, and 289 lakhs at its close. The coin reserve held at the Presidency was 213 lakhs at the beginning, and 355 lakhs at the close of the year.

The total population for which returns of births and deaths were furnished, was 33,733,121. The birth-rate was 270 per mille, as against 259 per mille, in 1892. Deaths from small-pox fell from 43,757 in 1892 to 27,289. Only twelve Municipalities were quite free from cholera throughout the year. A commencement of Sanitary engineering, in the shape of surveys and plans, was made.

Six ships, with 1,847 emigrants, and one ship, with 115 emigrants, left for Natal and Mauritius, respectively, in 1893. The numbers of emigrants that returned were 328 from Natal and 805 from Mauritius, and their savings amounted to Rs. 45,181 and Rs. 8,098, respectively. There was no emigration to French colonies, but three of them (Martinique, Guadeloupe and Reunion) repatriated 628 emigrants, with savings, amounting to Rs. 20,649. 2,300 indentured emigrants embarked for the Straits Settlements from Nagapatam, while the number of free emigrants was 16,043. 768 emigrants to Assam were registered in Ganjam and 54,574 persons emigrated to Burma. These came chiefly from Ganjam and Godavari and Tanjore. For Ceylon 91,021 persons embarked, chiefly from Madura and Tinnevely. The total number of emigrants from the various colonies and other parts of British India was 203,032 of whom 42,535 and 87,989, respectively, came from Burma and Ceylon. *Re Education*, the Government Technical examinations were held under the revised notification of January 1893, and 709

candidates were successful out of 1,631 entrants. There were in the Presidency 15 industrial schools with 1,048 pupils. Private and indigenous schools rose from 3,455 with 65,894 pupils, to 4,030 with 77,062 pupils. The number of publications registered during the year fell from 982 to 806, of which 187 were in English and other European languages, and about 20 per cent. were educational in their aim.

Meteorological observations were recorded at seventeen stations as against nineteen in the previous year. In the course of the year two stations were abolished and one was reduced by one class. Four observatories were inspected and found to be generally satisfactory. The observations taken at 8 A.M. were regularly telegraphed to Simla, Bengal and Bombay, from all the observatories, for which they were required for the daily weather charts, or storm-warning services. A daily weather report for the Madras Presidency was published from the 1st October 1893. The daily rainfall was registered at 321 Revenue Board rain stations, and the results published in the *Fort St. George Gazette*.

There were 24 English newspapers and 83 vernacular newspapers and magazines in circulation throughout the year. Of the latter 25 were in Tamil, 11 in Telugu, 4 in Canarese, 21 in Malayalam, 1 in Sanskrit, 5 in Hindustani and 16 in more than one language. The vernacular paper of largest circulation was the *Gnanodayamu*, a Telugu general newspaper.

As in previous years, fifty-five municipalities were administered under Act IV of 1884, and the municipal councils consisted of 852 members against 860 in 1892-93. Of these 55 were *ex-officio* members, 426 were nominated by Government, and 371 were elected by the rate-payers, the corresponding numbers for the previous year being 55, 425 and 385. Including those elected, the official members numbered 183 and the non-official members 669, against 195 and 668, respectively, in 1892-93, and, classed according to race, there were 143 Europeans and Eurasians and 709 natives, against 150 and 713, respectively, in the previous year. Each council held, on an average, 27 meetings, against 28 in 1892-93, but the average attendance at each meeting was the same as in that year, namely, 8.5. The elective system of appointing councillors was in force in 34 municipalities, against 33 in the previous year, it having been newly introduced into the town of Bezvada. The privilege of electing its own chairman was withdrawn from the Municipal Council of Cocanada and restored to that of Tanjore, so that the number of municipal councils which enjoyed this right was the same as in the previous year, namely, 36. The opening balance of the year amounted to Rs. 5,63,500, against Rs. 6,65,433, in 1892-93, and the current

receipts were Rs. 26 14,984, against Rs. 25,85,335. The increase in the latter case appears chiefly under taxation, loans and advances, and is partially counterbalanced by a fall under grants from Government and other sources. The average incidence of municipal taxation was As. 13-3, including and As. 9-10, excluding tolls, against As. 12-7 and As. 9-3, respectively, in the previous year.

Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1893-94.

THE Report on the Administration of Bengal, 1893-94, is in bulk half as large again as that for the Madras Presidency. The year was one of divided responsibilities, Sir Charles Elliott and Sir Antony MacDonnell having each held the reins of Government for six months. With both Sir Charles and his *locum tenens* Survey and Settlement work, with a view to the establishment of sounder relations between landlords and their tenants, and avoidance of agrarian disturbances, was a prominent concern.

Both Lieutenant-Governors visited Behar, and in concert with the local officials, the indigo planters, influential zemindars, and representative ryots, heedfully studied and reviewed the situation, and helped to assuage the prevalent strained relations. Sir Charles brought to bear on the subject that fondness for and mastery of detail for which his tenure of the Public Works portfolio was famous. Sir Antony's varied experiences, as an executive officer in different parts of Behar, rendered him an able co-adjutor. It is too soon yet to predicate the eventual outcome of their joint endeavours. It suffices to suggest that everyone does not hold the same views as the Lieutenant-Governor concerning the panaceal efficacies of Surveys and Settlements.

The Khonds, for instance, strongly object to anything of the sort, and it is admitted in the State paper before us, that their character and temper "render the task difficult, and necessitate the exercise of considerable caution."

We note with satisfaction that, next in importance to the claims of Surveys and Settlements on the attention of his Government, he ranks those of a strict and vigilant economy. A reform is doubly pleasing to His Honor, when it can be carried through without involving the State in any extra expenditure.

In response to the tirades of the native press, statistics were compiled during the year of report, showing the strength of the Indian Civil Service, and the non-Regulation Commission, the Provincial Civil Service, and the Subordinate Civil Service, and the number and percentage of natives of India employed therein on the 1st July in the years 1870, 1879, 1881, and 1893.

The figures elicited show clearly that pure natives of India have not the slightest ground for the assertion that they do not get their fair share of the offices and emoluments the Bengal Government has at its disposal. Facts may be stubborn, but we fear they will not overcome greed. Much has been done towards the betterment of the pay and prospects of subordinate officers of the Bengal and village police forces, of the Public Works Department and of the Forest Department. Here are two paragraphs from the 'General Summary,' which correct popular misapprehensions:—

"Instances having come to notice in which executive or administrative officers have, in official reports or other documents intended for publication or likely to be published, made reflections on the judicial decisions, or acts of Magistrates, or other courts of law, it was deemed necessary to draw attention to the inconvenience and impropriety of such remarks. It was pointed out to these officers that it was not open to them to give publicity to reflections on the judicial tribunals, or to adopt any action, which may have a tendency to shake public confidence in the decisions of courts of justice. If, in the opinion of an executive or administrative officer, there has been a judicial error or irregularity, it is always open to them to move for its correction in the manner prescribed by law or practice; but there should be no disparaging criticisms of judicial acts in departmental reports or other similar documents which, according to existing practice, are or may be published for general information."

"In view of the prevalence in some quarters of an impression that a police officer is judged efficient, or otherwise, according as the percentage of convictions secured by him in cases sent up for trial in A Form is high or low, the officiating Lieutenant-Governor, Sir A. Macdonnell, took the opportunity of pointing out in a general circular that the impression rested on no good foundation, and that it was inconsistent with the instructions of the Inspector-General of Police, and the repeated declarations and assurances of Government on the subject. It was explained that, although statistics are essential to the maintenance of due control and supervision over police work, they should be used, not as a standard to be worked up to, but as a test for indicating, where defect in work is to be looked for. In this way they serve the purpose of a "danger signal" on a railway, and afford an indication to the controlling officer of the probable existence of mistakes which should be corrected."

No new lights are thrown on the anti-kine killing agitation in Behar, or the tree-daubing mystery.

Sir Charles Elliott especially plumes himself on the "assiduous attention" he has paid to prisons and prison management and sanitation, and he cites instances in point. During his visit to Kuch Behar His Honor was impressed with the fact that the jail there is one of the healthiest in Bengal. Yet it is an "absolutely insanitary" jail according to modern ideas, consisting as it does of low thatched houses on mud plinths, and more nearly resembling the abode of the free native population than anything ever seen in a Government jail. Is sanitation, after all, a blunder? His Honor seems inferentially to ask. Has he not lost sight somewhat of differing climatic conditions? *Apropos*, he attributes the mortality among the pilgrims at Puri—firstly, to the state of exhaustion in which they arrive at that place; secondly, to the impurity of the water of the sacred tanks. Endeavours were made to secure transfer of the proprietary rights

in them to the Municipal Commissioners of the town, but without success. As a *modicum* of reform it has been arranged to empty and re-excavate the Swet Ganga tank. Last year water-works were opened at Arrah, and fifteen lakhs of rupees were lent to the Municipality of Howrah to carry out a water-supply scheme. In other places, too, Sir Charles Elliott has given proof of his hearty interest in the cause of sanitary reform. He hopes much from Municipal Boards in this and other changings of the old order, and says handsomely :—

"The Lieutenant-Governor observes with pleasure that many of the suggestions made in previous years have been cordially adopted; in places where medical expenditure was insufficient, it has been increased; a broader view has been taken of the duty of municipalities in respect of elementary education; something has been done towards improving drainage and water-supply; and increased activity has been shown in the preparation of schemes for the execution of these important reforms. It is likely that still greater progress would have been made along these lines, had not the counsels of the Commissioners been clouded by the shadow of impending elections; but when it is remembered that municipal business throughout the province, is conducted by gentlemen who, with few exceptions, give gratuitously time and trouble which they can often ill spare, the Lieutenant-Governor recognises that a great measure of success has been attained, and that, as a whole, the Commissioners have deserved well of their fellow-countrymen. At the present moment a vista of still further usefulness opens before them. The amendments of the Municipal Act have been designed to improve their position, and the new body of Commissioners enter upon their period of office with larger opportunities and a fairer horizon than their predecessors."

Again, under the heading, Local Self-Government, we find His Honor writing :—

"A perusal of the divisional reports on the working of District Boards in Bengal has left the impression of important duties harmoniously and unostentatiously discharged. The crudities which, as was inevitable, marked the administration of the earlier years during which the Local Self-Government Act was in force, have largely disappeared under the ripening influence of time; in parts of the province there is a tendency to favour one or more branches of the administration at the expense of others; but year by year mistakes are corrected and improvements introduced; year by year variations in administration, as between district and district disappear, and year by year the working of the machine grows smoother as those who control it become more familiar with its capabilities and their own duties. In all this Sir Charles Elliott detects, not an approach to a dull level of mediocrity but an emulous struggle towards the highest standards available, and he cordially congratulates all members of District Boards in these provinces that the year 1893-94 has been marked by such steady progress and such general good work."

Revision of the Famine Code, establishment of the Bengal-Veterinary Institution, propping up of the decaying silk industry are some of the objects of utility to which attention was given in 1893-94. In this connection it may be mentioned that—

"At the instance of the Secretary of State, and under the instructions of the Government of India, the Lieutenant-Governor caused a memorandum to be drawn up towards the close of 1892 by Mr F. H. B. Skrine I. C. S., on the "Material Condition of the Lower Orders in Bengal" during the ten years, from 1881-8 to 1891-92. The memorandum was required for inclusion in the "Decennial Report on the Moral and Material Progress of India," since submitted to Parliament, and little time was allowed for its preparation. It was impossible, therefore, that it should give complete information on the large sub-

ject of which it treats. Similar memoranda were supplied by all the Provinces, and in a Resolution recorded upon them by the Government of India, it was observed that in Bengal, except in Behar, the material condition of all classes is greatly improving, and in many districts has reached a very high standard."

Having already dealt in detail with the separate reports in the time before us, it would be a work of supererogation, and a weariness to our readers to write about them again in this place.

Notes on the Administration of the Registration Department in Bengal for the year 1893-94. By NAWAB SYUD AMEER HOSSEIN, C.I.E., Officiating Inspector-General of Registration. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1894.

NAWAB SYUD AMEER HOSSEIN, C.I.E., in submitting his Notes on the Registration Department in Bengal for the year 1893-94, writes :—

The chief noticeable feature of the year's operations is the reduction in receipts. There has been an increase both in compulsory and optional registrations, but the receipts have fallen off from Rs. 14,35,541 in 1892-93 to Rs. 13,88,184 in 1893-94. The decrease is due to the operation of the orders of Government reducing the minimum *ad-valorem* fee from annas 12 to annas 8, which took effect from the 1st July 1893. When Mr. Holmwood proposed the reduction of the fee, he anticipated an increase in the receipts of the Department, but it has proved otherwise. It is, however, premature to pass any opinion until another year has expired and the public have had ample notice of the change which has been made in their favour. The reduction of the minimum fee to 8 annas has resulted in an increase in the number of registrations. In 1892-93 the number of registrations in which an *ad-valorem* fee of 12 annas was realised were 837,610. In 1893-94 the number of registrations in which *ad-valorem* fees of 8 annas and 12 annas were paid amounted to 887,792, or an increase of 50,182 registrations. This increase has taken place in nine months. It is, therefore, very likely that during the current year there will be a further increase, and the loss will be recouped.

Turning to details of this statement, it appears that there was increase in all the principal heads showing compulsory registrations affecting immoveable property except perpetual leases. There was a slight falling off in this class of documents, the number being 90,728 in 1893-94, against 90,989 in 1892-93. This confirms my view expressed in the last triennial report that the year 1892-93 may be taken as the normal year, there being an abnormal increase in the two preceding years. The optional registrations show an increase under all the heads except instruments of sale of value less than Rs. 100 in the Sonthal Parganas and miscellaneous registrations, but the difference is too small to call for any remarks. Under registrations affecting moveable property, instruments of sale only show a slight decrease of 191. The obligations for the payment of money have increased from 108,483 to 115,583, or an increase of 7,100. The increase was marked in the districts of Jessore, Backergunge, Khulna, and Bogra. The largest increase was in the Jessore district—4,958. It is explained that a large proportion of this number were instalment-bonds for payment of arrears of rent executed by tenants in

favour of their landlords. There was also a large number of renewals of old money bonds. In the districts of Backergunge and Khulna, the reason assigned is the high price of food-grains which compelled the lower classes to borrow money. Bogra gives a different reason, which is, that people have no faith in unregistered documents.

There was only an increase of 152 in the number of wills registered which does not require any explanation. The number of refusals also show an increase, indicating vigilance on the part of registering officers. There is a decrease of 190 in the number of powers-of-attorney authenticated under section 63 of the Registration Act. No special reason is assigned for this decrease, except that Chittagong explains that during the preceding year, 1892-93, the number was higher, owing to the fact that fresh powers had to be executed under a ruling of the Board of Revenue that distinct powers cannot be given to distinct persons in one power without additional stamp duty.

A large increase has taken place in the number of searches and applications for copies, which is no doubt due to the facilities afforded to the public by better arrangements for search noticed in Mr. Holmwood's Report for 1891-92.

Progress Report of Forest Administration in the Lower Provinces of Bengal for the year 1892-93. By E. P. DANSEY, Conservator of Forests, Bengal. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press. 1893.

I N° his Progress Report of Forest Administration in Bengal for the year 1892-93 we find Mr. E. P. Dansey, *à propos* of the new or fourth edition of the Forest Code, bewailing a new return (No. 49) called "Statement of forest areas surveyed and under survey during the year," which he says neither the writer of this Report, nor any one of his officers, have been able to quite understand. He goes on to say that to them it does not seem to be a very necessary statement, and that the work of both Conservator and Divisional officers in his Circle is already so heavy, that the creation of new returns in respect of any matter which can be equally well shown in the body of the Report, or in a separate report, as necessity arises, is—work of supererogation and exceedingly vexatious. That is not his official style of putting the grievance, of course. We have taken the of translating his *ipsissima verba* into the vulgar tongue. Receipts for 1892-93 were not so heavy, by Rs 44,671, as those for the previous year, although, owing to a much smaller expenditure during the year under review, the surplus itself did not vary greatly, having been Rs. 3,63,274 as compared with Rs. 3,66,623 in 1891-92. But Mr. Dansey maintains that the protection of the forests was more efficient, and the progress made under every description of work greater than has been the case in recent years.

The total area of reserved forests at the commencement of the year was 5,211 square miles, and at the end of the year 5,703 square miles, showing an increase of 492 square miles.

A recalculation of the areas of the reserved forests in the Sundaibans from the latest published maps gave the following results, which seem to indicate that previous calculations had not taken into account the water area, besides being inaccurate in other respects :—

Forest.	Area of land.	Area of water	TOTAL	
			Now.	Before
	Square miles.	Square miles	Square miles	Square miles.
Satkhira. . .	387	101	548	382
Khulna ...	606	240	846	899
Bagurhat ..	566	132	698	494
Totals ..	1,559	533	2,092	1,575

In more than one sense the addition to the Sundaibans area is, therefore, not of the solid nature that we usually like to see ; and there is still less reason for congratulation, if it be borne in mind that, owing to the existence of numerous minor water channels not shown on the printed maps, the land area is in reality less than that given above.

No important Survey work was undertaken during the year of report.

The total outturn of timber from all sources during the period under report (15 months) was nearly 81 lacs of cubic feet, against 72½ lacs during the preceding 12 months ; the outturn of fuel was nearly 147 lacs of cubic feet, excluding the unreliable estimates of removals by privileged villagers, against 144 lacs, and of bamboos 177 lacs against 162 lacs. The value of minor produce other than bamboos was Rs. 1,23,207, against Rs. 1,00,740 during the 12 months of the year 1891-92. If the figures for the 15 months covered by the Report are proportionately reduced, so as to give corresponding result for one year, the outturn of timber would show a decrease amounting to about 11 per cent., fuel a decrease amounting to about 18 per cent., and bamboos a decrease amounting to 13 per cent. The decrease was conspicuous in the Sundaibans Division, where the enhanced rates introduced during the year met with much opposition from the Calcutta traders, who held aloof and declined to deal with the Forest Department for some months. Of the total

quantity of Forest produce, only '28 per cent. of timber, '89 per cent. of fuel; and '026 per cent. of bamboos were removed by departmental agency, the rest being removed by purchasers.

Administration Report of the Madras Government Museum for the year 1893-94. Madras: The Superintendent, Government Press. 1894.

FROM the Administration Report of the Madras Government Museum for 1893-94, we gather that the Institution is not a very popular educational instrument. By way of excusing a falling off in the number of last year's visitors to its treasure houses, the aid of the Madras Government is invoked; and its response is:—

"The number of persons who visit a public institution like a Museum depends on a variety of causes, and naturally fluctuates from year to year."

The number of gosha ladies who visited the Museum on the days set apart for them was 433 less than in the preceding year.

We are told that a start has been made with the systematic arrangement of the economic products of Southern India in alphabetical sequence, to correspond with the official 'Dictionary of the Economic Products of India.'

Also that the Technical Sub-Director of the Imperial Institute having reported that the fibre of *Agave Americana* acquired in the Coimbatore Bazar, "had been very well reported on, and is considered to be nearly as good as Manilla hemp," the Museum Herbarium-keeper was deputed to visit Coimbatore and investigate the conditions of growth of the plant, method of preparation, &c. The results of his enquiries have been published in Bulletin No. 30 of the Department of Land Records and Agriculture, Madras, and further samples of the fibre, and scrapers used in its preparation, sent to the Imperial Institute.

In connection with the Art Gallery it appears that some good examples of sandal-wood carving by the Gudigars of Mysore (who are now, Mr. Thurston is informed, working for European firms from patterns sent from Europe) were exhibited in a table-case.

No important find of coins in Southern India during the year has to be recorded. The Museum was, as usual, indebted to the Asiatic Society of Bengal for a large number of coins of Northern India, which included coins of the

Andhra and Kalachuri dynasties, the Pathan Sultans of Delhi, the Moghul Emperors, and the Independent Sultans of Bengal.

The Museum collection of coins of the East India Company was enriched by the purchase of a small collection, which includes a dollar counter-struck with the die of a double Arcot rupee; leaden double pice, Bombay; copper pice; leaden two cash and silver fanam of Charles II; and silver three fanam and double fanam of George I.

A report on a further examination of the area in which phosphatic nodules are to be found in the Trichinopoly district was submitted to Government by Dr. Warth, and recorded in Resolution, Miscellaneous, No. 4856, dated 14th August, 1893. Dr. Warth states that his original estimate of the amount (4 000 tons) of the nodules to be found on the surface in the area concerned, is confirmed by his more recent detailed examination. He has also, by means of a series of trial pits, sunk across the field, arrived at the conclusion that, in the beds on which nodules may be found at the surface, they are to be found diffused to the amount of 28 lb. per 100 cubic feet. The area of the field is about 10 square miles, in which the nodule-bearing beds are exposed; and, at the above rate, the quantity obtainable within 200 feet of the surface would be 7 million tons. The quantity available is, therefore, very large; and, if it could be worked out at an economical rate, the deposit would become very valuable. The main question at present to consider is, therefore, the cost at which the nodules could be raised and delivered at Trichinopoly, or any other large centre. Dr. Warth thinks that the cost would be very high—about Rs 20 a ton.

Specimens of hercynite (iron-spinel) were received through the Collector of Coimbatore, from the Erode taluk of the Coimbatore district. The occurrence of hercynite in India has, Mr. Tifurston believes, not been previously recorded.

Naturalists may like to know that a series of brightly-colored fishes, which were preserved at Pamban by Mr. A. Haly's glycerine process in 1888 still retain their colours so perfectly that a very good idea can be formed of their colouration during life.
